

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

FILE NUMBER: 161-2126

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.



LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

JUL 13 1962

3-

Dear Mr. Hoover:

~~Dr. Henry Steele Commager~~, born October 25, 1902, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is being considered for an appointment by the President which, under the standards approved by the White House February 20, 1961, requires a current FBI investigation. It is requested, therefore, that this investigation be conducted and the results be furnished to me through the Director, Office of Security.

The files of the Office of Security contain information regarding Dr. Commager which you may wish to review.

Biographic data identified below is attached for your use and retention.

Sincerely yours,

Michel Cieplinski

Michel Cieplinski
Acting Administrator
Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs

Attachment:

Biographic sketch

att 7/24/62
GACs - Bw fby
Bx Rb
Cg 7/20
Ci 7/20
FBI / fby
FBI / fby

Letter to White House
+ State Dept. with
supplemental summary
8/23/62
gpb
EX-7

MCT-13 REC-36

The Honorable
J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation

161- 2126-1

ENCLOSURE

Letter to White House
House & Senate Summary
with summary
8/23/62
gpb

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

PRESENT POSITION: Professor, History and American Studies, Amherst College

CONSIDERED FOR:

Born: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 25, 1902

Education: 1923, Ph.B., Chicago University; A.M., 1924, Chicago University; Ph.D., Chicago University, 1928; student, University of Copenhagen 1924-25; M.A., (Cantab.); M.A., (Oxon.); Hon. fellow Peterhouse; Litt.D., Washington College, Maryland, Ohio Wesleyan, 1958; Ed.D., Rhode Island College of Education.

Marital status: Married

Experience:

NON-GOVERNMENT:

1926-29 - Instructor of history, New York University
1929-30 - Assistant professor
1930-31 - Associate professor
1931-38 - Professor, New York University
1939-56 - Professor of history, Columbia
1956-61 - Adjunct professor, Columbia
1956-62 - Professor, history and American studies, Amherst College
1942-43 - Lecturer in American history, Cambridge University
1943 - Bacon lecturer, Boston University
1944 - Richards lecturer, University of Virginia
1947-48 - Pitt. professor of American history, Cambridge University, England
1952-53 - Harmsworth professor of American history, Oxford University
1953 - Gottesman lecturer, Uppsala University
1956 - Visiting professor, University of Copenhagen
1955 - Ziskind professor, Brandeis University
1957 - Aix en Provence and Nice
1958 - Lecturer, University of Jerusalem

GOVERNMENT:

1946 - Member, War Department Committee on History of the War; to Britain for War Department, and OWI, summer 1943; to France, Belgium, Britain for War Dept.

161- 2126-
ENCLOSURE

GOVERNMENT: contin.

- 1954 - Lecturer for Department of State at Germany universities
1955 - Lecturer for Department of State in Isreal and Italy

Author:

The Growth of the American Republic (with S.E. Morison), 1931-42; Theodore Parker, 1936; The Heritage of America (with A. Nevins), 1939 Our Nation (with E.C. Barker), 1941; America:the Story of a Free People (with A. Nevins), 1942; Majority Rule and Minority Rights, 1943; the Blue and the Gray, 1950; America, Story of Free Nation, 1950; The American Mind, 1951; Living Ideas in America, 1952; Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent, 1954; Joseph Story, 1954; Europe and America since 1492 (with G. Bruun), 1954; The Great Declaration, 1958; The Spirit of Seventy-six (with R.B. Morris), 1958.

Editor:

Documents of American History, 1934, 1940, 1950; Tocqueville's Democracy in America, 1946; A St. Nicholas Anthology, 1948; The Second St. Nicholas 1950; America in Perspective, 1947; The Rise of the American Nation, 40 vols. (in process); Selected Writings of William Dean Howells; Atlas of Civil War, 1958.

Office Amherst College Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts

Home: 405 S. Pleasant Street, Amherst, Massachusetts

Legal Residence:

7/24/62

77 cent

b7c

MURKIN

B.P.

7-31-62

Airtel

REC-36 161- 2126

To: SACs, Baltimore Enc.
Boston Enc.
Chicago Enc.
Cincinnati Enc.
New York Enc.
Richmond Enc.
Washington Field Enc. (5)

EX-118

From: Director, FBI

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPI
Buded 8/6/62

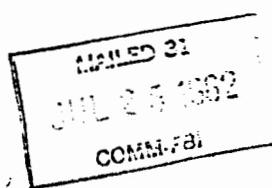
State Department has requested investigation of Commager who is being considered for Presidential appointment, exact position not stated. Born 10/25/02, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and resides Amherst, Massachusetts. Background data attached. Also see Who's Who for further background data.

WFO: review files of Office of Security, Department of State, which contain information concerning appointee.

Conduct thorough investigation covering character, loyalty, general standing and ability, accounting for entire adult life. Complete names and current addresses of all close relatives must be ascertained by active investigation and appropriate checks made concerning each. Assign immediately, afford continuous attention and set out leads by teletype. Assign to sufficient personnel to insure that Buded of 8/6/62 is met without fail. If poor financial background on part of appointee is developed during investigation, you must make specific inquiry to determine whether any tax liens have been filed against him, and the results of any litigation involving nonpayment of obligations, either public or private.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DFB:llb
(16)



MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

NOTE: Request received 7/24/62 by letter dated 7/23/62 from State Department. Summary will be furnished White House as Presidential appointment is involved.

f/c D.H. 1/14/63 b7c
Return to [REDACTED] Room 1258

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

V. verba ✓
MemorandumTO : Mr. Evans *Par*DATE: 7/26/62 *Wey*FROM : [REDACTED] *b7c*SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

b7c
 Request received 7/24/62 by letter dated 7/23/62 from State Department indicating Commager is being considered for Presidential appointment, exact position not stated. Investigation initiated 7/24/62.

Commager born 10/25/02 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and currently resides in Amherst, Massachusetts. He is currently a Professor of History at Amherst College.

Bureau files now have been checked and contain numerous references concerning Commager. Commager is a prolific writer and author and many of his writings have been critical of the Director, the Bureau, and the Government, its loyalty program, and security measures in general. Because of such writings he has long been a "darling" of the Communist Party and is frequently quoted in communist publications. He is on the Bureau "no contact" list.

Commager was listed as a reference by an individual who was the subject of an applicant-type investigation in 1949. In October, 1949, Commager complained to the Bureau that an FBI Agent, unable to find him readily available for interview, "interrogated" his 14-year old daughter concerning the applicant. *161-2126-2*

The Field has been instructed to conduct no neighborhood investigation. Further they are to assign leads in this case to mature Agents and it is to be made clear to all persons interviewed the purpose of the investigation. The Field has been furnished a brief summary of information in Bufiles.

NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962

ACTION:

This case is being closely supervised and you will be advised of any unusual developments.

Mr. DeLoach
BB
 DFB:djm/dpr
 (6)

SENT DIRECTOR
 7-27-62

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

7-25

1962

- Name Searching Unit - Room 6527
 Service Unit - Room 6524
 Forward to File Review b7c
 Attention _____
 Return to [REDACTED] 1260 2339
Supervisor Room Ext.

Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

- Regular Request (Analytical Search)
 - All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
 - Subversive References Only
 - Nonsubversive References Only
 - Main _____ References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- Restricted to Locality of _____
 Exact Name Only (On the Nose) _____
 Buildup Variations

Subject Henry Steele Commager
Birthdate & Place 10-25-02 Pittsburgh, Pa.
Address _____

140

Localities III 25 1902

R# 161235 Date 7/25 Searcher Initials 751

Prod

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Cunningham, Henry Steele

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 612 Date 2/25 Searcher Initial 251

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER _____ SERIAL _____

I	100-3775-48-	115 D#11
I	100-37935-	1000 ED#8
I	100-388425-	109
O L	100-371697-	400 ED#51
I		201 ED#202
	100-379302-	111 ED#7
I	100-350516- A	D#1
		Bactericide 2-11-58
I	100-350512-	565
I	100-357934-	1160 D#92
I	100-311251-	465-
I	100-350512-	485
I	100-347577-	432 P#21
I	100-341378-	122
I	100-320555-	35-
I	100-3-74- A	Wash Star 2/27/58
I	100-3-74- A	The Worker 12-25-55
I	100-3-74-	14321 P#1
I	100-3-74-	57
I	74-8-325-	81
I	77-28881- A	11221 P#10
I	65-12168- Q	1111

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: James W. Steele

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 612 Date 7/25 Searcher Initial 751

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
I 62-100-1-A	11-22-61
I 62-100-1-A	11-22-61
L 62-75-1-A ED#1	UNSA. PGS#4 TIMES 26x10d 1-2-61
I 61-75-1-2-	9333
I 61-34-1-A	6572674 10
I 61-310-1	1694 Pg 14
I 61-100-1	CLEVELAND GR 11 and 29 ST 10-22-63
I 61-100-	574 R
<u>2nd L Pg 14</u>	
I 1-14-	499
X I 61-5215-1	17 CONDENS 12-30-51
X I 1 Duplicator Card	
Duplicator Card	
"Newspaper" 4-20-62	
Pg 2	
SAC	
I 100-14100-	28 5-18-51
L 100-300-100-	173 Pg 7
SAC	
X I 100-14100-	2 1-22-62
X I 94-1-15-23 - G	G 1-22-62
X I 100-326023 -	4-1-55

4
NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: General, Army StyleSupervisor _____ Room _____
R# 612 Date 7/25 Searcher Initial 251
Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
<u>SEI</u> 100-423419-	<u>2267411</u>
<u>L</u> 100-361139-	<u>1242525</u>
<u>I</u>	<u>341</u>
<u>SEI</u> 105-39532-	<u>3</u>
<u>I</u> 105-42300-	<u>1531</u>
<u>I</u> 100-321130-	<u>1575741</u>
<u>SEI</u> 100-380835-	<u>1096D47</u>
<u>I</u> 100-3-22-	<u>162371577</u>
<u>I</u> (not hits) 100-64700-	<u>1215226</u>
	<u>5661</u>
<u>I</u> 100-1-22-	<u>472</u>
<u>I</u> 100-5-7100-	<u>2</u>
<u>I</u> 100-35545-	<u>203-57-</u>
<u>I</u> (not hits) 100-14160-a	<u>JK</u>
	<u>0711</u>
<u>SEI</u>	
Commander Hits SNEAK Techniques	
<u>I</u> 100-14160-a	<u>JK</u>
	<u>0711</u>

7/27/62

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SACS BALTIMORE
BOSTON
CHICAGO
CINCINNATI
NEW YORK
RICHMOND
WASHINGTON FIELD (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

REMYAIRTEL JULY TWENTY-FOUR, LAST.

BUREAU FILES CONTAIN NUMEROUS REFERENCES CONCERNING APPOINTEE WHO HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF DIRECTOR, BUREAU AND GOVERNMENT'S LOYALTY PROGRAM AND SECURITY MEASURES IN GENERAL. BECAUSE OF SUCH VIEWS HE IS LOOKED UPON WITH FAVOR BY COMMUNIST PARTY AND IS FREQUENTLY QUOTED IN COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS.

110/DR
NOTE HE IS ON LIST OF PERSONS NOT TO BE CONTACTED WITHOUT PRIOR BUREAU APPROVAL.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION CONDUCT NO NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATIONS.

JUL 27 1962

ASSIGN CASE TO MATURE AGENT PERSONNEL EXPERIENCED IN

TELETYPE

CONDUCTING SPI INVESTIGATIONS. MAKE CLEAR TO ALL PERSONS

INTERVIEWED THE PURPOSE OF CURRENT INVESTIGATION. EXTREME CARE

MUST BE UTILIZED TO OBLViate ANY POSSIBILITY OF CHARGES OF

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DFB:aak *AK*
(5)

161-2126-3
NOT RECORDED

b7c 84B 5 OCT 9 1962

Room 1260

Return to [REDACTED], Room [REDACTED]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE TO BALTIMORE
RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION BEING MADE AGAINST BUREAU.

IMMEDIATELY REVIEW FILES AND CONTACT INFORMANTS. SUBMIT UP-TO-DATE CHARACTERIZATIONS WHEN PERTINENT ALONG WITH STATEMENT AS TO PRESENT RELIABILITY OF SOURCES UTILIZED IN CHARACTERIZATIONS.

AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION. SET OUT LEADS BY TELETYPE. FOR INFORMATION, COMMAGER WAS STATED AS A REFERENCE IN ONE NINE FOUR NINE APPLICANT-TYPE INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY BUREAU. IN OCTOBER, ONE NINE FOUR NINE, COMMAGER COMPLAINED TO BUREAU THAT A FBI AGENT, UNABLE TO FIND HIM READILY AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW, QUOTE PROCEEDED TO INTERROGATE UNQUOTE HIS FOURTEEN YEAR OLD DAUGHTER. BUREAU DETERMINED COMMAGER'S DAUGHTER CONTACTED AT SUMMER RESIDENCE AUGUST, SIXTEEN, ONE NINE FOUR NINE, AND FURNISHED INFORMATION.

110 PM
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JUL 27 1962

TELETYPE

8-1-62

Airtel

161-2126-H

To: SAC, Washington Field (161-1788)
From: Director, FBI
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPI

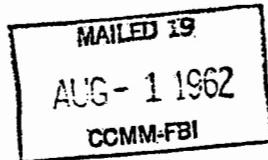
Reurairtel 7-30-62.

Permission granted to interview US Senators
from Massachusetts regarding Commager.

NOTE: Referenced WFO airtel requested permission to interview
US Senators from Massachusetts re employee. Mr. DeLoach's office
on 7-31-62 approved the interview of the 2 US Senators from
Massachusetts re Commager.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DFB:jgl
- 4 -



MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Return to [REDACTED], Room _____

Room 1260

DB Bar [REDACTED] 67C

F B I

Date: 7/30/62

No ACTION
7/30/62
JGK

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1788) (P)
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPI

b7C

ReBuairtel 7/24/62.

Bureau permission is requested for WFO to interview
U.S. Senators from Massachusetts re appointee.

(3)- Bureau

1 - WFO

LSM:pap
(4)AIRTEL

2 cc destroyed
9/1/62
GP/24

161-2126-4

NOT RECORDED

18 JUL 30 1962

JW
Spec. Inc.
JFB

Mr. DeLoach's Office, 7/3/62,
Granted permission for WFO
agents to interview US Senators
from Mass re appointee

JFB.

Approved: M.W.H. Jr. Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 3 11962

TELETYPE

BB

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLeach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 7-31-62 11-58 AM JEF

~~TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, WFO~~
~~FROM SAC, BALTIMORE "161-840" -P- 1P~~

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI. BUDED AUG. SIX NEXT.

G DASH TWO FILES CHECKED TODAY REFLECT NO RECORD OF APPOINTEE. G DASH TWO INDICES, HOWEVER, REFLECT INFORMATION RE ONE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, NOT FURTHER IDENTIFIED, IS LOCATED AT THE INTELLIGENCE RECORDS SECTION, ACSI, DA, THE PENTAGON, WASHINGTON, D.C., UNDER THE FOLLOWING CROSS REFERENCES. SUBJECT DASH COMMUNISM, DATE OF CORRESPONDENCE DASH JAN. THIRTY NINETEEN FIFTYONE, DATE OF BASIS DASH UNKNOWN, FILE NO. DASH ZERO ZERO ZERO TWO FOUR ZERO. SUBJECT DASH NEWS CLIPPING, DATE OF CORRESPONDENCE DASH NOV. FOURTEEN NINETEEN FIFTYFOUR, DATE OF BASIC DASH UNKNOWN, FILE NO. DASH ZERO ZERO ZERO TWO FOUR ZERO. SUBJECT DASH INTELLIGENCE ITEMS, DATE OF CORRESPONDENCE DASH JUNE SEVEN NINETEEN FIFTYSEVEN, DATE OF BASIC DASH MARCH THIRTEEN NINETEEN FIFTYSEVEN, FILE NO. DASH NINE TWO FOUR ZERO ZERO ZERO SIX A.

WFO HANDLE. REPORT FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK PLS

12-00 P M OK FBI WA MSL

TU DISCV

TWO COPIES WFO

ICC destroyed
9/19/62
JG/CAC

161-2126-5
NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962

BB

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
JUL 3 1962
TELETYPE

no action
7/31/62
gfp.

BB.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

[REDACTED] b7c
ROOM 4246

URGENT 7-31-62 10-21 PM JAA

TO DIRECTOR, FBI -20- AND SAC, LOS ANGELES
FROM SAC, NEW YORK /161-1067/

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI. [REDACTED] b7

STATE DEPT. HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF COMMAGER WHO IS BEING
CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT, EXACT POSITION NOT STATED.
ASSIGN IMMEDIATELY, AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION AND SET OUT LEADS BY
TELETYPE. BUDED AUGUST SIX WITHOUT FAIL.

RE LA FILE ONE HUNDRED - FOUR ONE ZERO ONE SIX, CITIZENS COMMITTEE
TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS. MEMO TO SAC FROM SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7D
JUNE FIVE FIFTY SEVEN AND MEMO TO SAC FROM SA [REDACTED]
JUNE THREE FIFTY SEVEN REFLECT INFORMANTS [REDACTED] AND
[REDACTED] REPORTED SPEECH BY COMMAGER TO CCPAF ON MAY
EIGHTEEN FIFTYSEVEN., LATTER INFORMANT ALSO REPORTED HE CONTRIBUTED
ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS AT MEETING.

LA REQUESTED TO REPORT INFO FROM FILES AND DOCUMENT CCPAF.
END

NY R 20 WA RL 7-31-62
TU RL

1cc *destroyed* 9/19/62 JFB
9/19/62 JFB
JFB/CSC

161-2126-6
NOV 10 1962
BOSTON
OCT 9 1962

BB

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 1 1962
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7c

OMAHA 12475

URGENT

8-1-62

2-15

MC

TO DIRECTOR, FBI, SACS, NEW YORK AND OMAHA
FROM SAC, BOSTON 161-856 NY VIA WA /
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

REBUAIRTEL JULY TWENTYFOUR LAST AND BUTEL JULY TWENTYSEVEN
LAST, CC NEW YORK.

FOR INFO OMAHA, STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION
OF COMMAGER WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL
APPOINTMENT., EXACT POSITION NOT STATED. BORN OCT.
TWENTYFIVE NINETEEN TWO, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, AND
RESIDES AMHERST, MASS. AND IS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND
AMERICAN STUDIES SINCE NINETEEN FIFTYSIX.

CONDUCT THOROUGH INVESTIGATION COVERING CHARACTER, LOYALTY,
GENERAL STANDING AND ABILITY, ACCOUNTING FOR ENTIRE
ADULT LIFE. COMPLETE NAMES AND CURRENT ADDRESSES OF
ALL CLOSE RELATIVES MUST BE ASCERTAINED BY ACTIVE
INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH.

END PAGE ONE

1cc destroyed
9/19/62 JFB
JFB/crc

RELAYED TO NY -

161-2126-
NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962

DTB

PAGE TWO

ASSIGN IMMEDIATELY, AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION AND SET OUT LEADS BY TELETYPE. ASSIGN TO SUFFICIENT PERSONNEL TO INSURE THAT BUDED OF AUG. SIX NEXT IS MET WITHOUT FAIL. IF POOR FINANCIAL BACKGROUND ON PART OF APPOINTEE IS DEVELOPED DURING INVESTIGATION, YOU MUST MAKE SPECIFIC INQUIRY TO DETERMINE WHETHER ANY TAX LIENS HAVE BEEN FILED AGAINST HIM, AND THE RESULTS OF ANY LITIGATION INVOLVING NON PAYMENT OF OBLIGATIONS, EITHER PUBLIC OR PRIVATE.

REBUTEL ADVISED BUFILE CONTAINS NUMEROUS REFERENCES CONCERNING APPOINTEE, WHO HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF DIRECTOR, BUREAU, AND GOVERNMENT'S LOYALTY PROGRAM AND SECURITY MEASURES IN GENERAL. BECAUSE OF SUCH VIEWS HE IS LOOKED UPON WITH FAVOR BY COMMUNIST PARTY AND IS FREQUENTLY QUOTED IN COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS.

HE IS ON LIST OF PERSONS NOT TO BE CONTACTED WITHOUT BUREAU APPROVAL.

CONDUCT NO NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATIONS.

ASSIGN CASE TO MATURE AGENT PERSONNEL EXPERIENCED IN CONDUCTING SPI INVESTIGATIONS. MAKE CLEAR TO ALL PERSONS INTERVIEWED THE PURPOSE OF CURRENT INVESTIGATION. EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED TO OBVIATE ANY POSSIBILITY OF CHARGES OF CHARACTER ASSASSINATION BEING MADE AGAINST BUREAU.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

IMMEDIATELY REVIEW FILES AND CONTACT INFORMANTS. SUBMIT UP TO DATE CHARACTERIZATIONS WHEN PERTINENT ALONG WITH STATEMENT AS TO PRESENT RELIABILITY OF SOURCES UTILIZED IN CHARACTERIZATIONS.

AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION. SET OUT LEADS BY TELETYPE. FOR INFORMATION, COMMAGER WAS LISTED AS A REFERENCE IN ONE NINE FOUR NINE APPLICANT TYPE INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED BY BUREAU. IN OCTOBER, ONE NINE FOUR NINE COMMAGER COMPLAINED TO BUREAU THAT AN FBI AGENT, UNABLE TO FIND HIM READILY AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW, QUOTE PROCEEDED TO INTERROGATE UNQUOTE HIS FOURTEEN YEAR OLD DAUGHTER. BUREAU DETERMINED COMMAGER-S DAUGHTER CONTACTED AT SUMMER RESIDENCE AUGUST SIXTEEN, ONE NINE FOUR NINE, AND FURNISHED INFORMATION.

b7c

Brown
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
OMAHA VERIFY RESIDENCE AND CONDUCT AGENCY CHECKS.

b7c

FOR NEW YORK, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AT AMHERST COLLEGE PRESENTLY LOCATED AT ONE CHASE MMANHATTAN PLAZA, NEW YORK CITY. NEW YORK INTERVIEW.

~~VGORR LINE 7 LINE 17 LAST WD SHD BE IOWA~~

END AND ACK IN ORDER PLS.

9 2-26 PM OK FBI WA GJJ FOR RELAY

OK FBI OM EE

TU DISC

MM
BB

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 2 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT 8-2-62 1-21 AM CAS
TO DIRECTOR FBI XWX AND SAC BOSTON
FROM SAC NEW YORK 161-1067
HENRY STEELE COMMANGER, SPI.

REURFILE.

ASSOCIATE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ADVISED COMMANGER WORKED IN WAR
DEPARTMENT WITH ONE [REDACTED]
IN NINETEEN FORTIES. [REDACTED] NOW [REDACTED] AT PHILLIPS ANDOVER
ACADEMY. MASS.

HE ALSO ADVISED [REDACTED]

BOSTON INTERVIEW [REDACTED] AND CONDUCT APPROPRIATE CHECKS [REDACTED]
END AND ACK

CORR SHD BE NO 121
NY R 02 WA NH

TU

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9/19/62
JB/cm

161-2126-8
NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962

gjm

dtb

8/2/62

JB

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, NEW YORK
FROM: SAC,WFO (161-1788)
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPI

ReBu airtel dated 7/24/62, to New York.

*1+2+
M
Date*
X The following references to the appointee appear in the files of the HCUA: 1. One of 150 signers of a statement published in New York Times backing Dr. LINUS PAULING in his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. 2. Signer of an ad on behalf of Dr. LINUS PAULING in his refusal to comply with Senate Committee demands. Amherst, Mass. 3. Reprints of his article, "Who Is Loyal to America," (published first in Harper's), sold at Workers Bookshops, according to Letter to Editor of the Daily Worker from Henry Walters, New York City. Daily Worker, 11/7/47, page 9, col. 5., 4. Writer of article "Guilt--and Innocence--by Association" New York Times Magazine, 11/3/53, Prof. of History, Columbia University. 5. Writer of article attacking loyalty oaths New York Times, Magazine section, 6/26/49, page 7.

Additional reference to the appointee appearing in the People's World and the Daily Worker reflected in the HCUA files are being reviewed by WFO and pertinent information from this source will be reported. For your information, WFO is reviewing the 9/22/48, and 10/24/59, issues of the People's World and the following issues of the Daily Worker; 9/4/47, 10/16/60, 1/28/57, 11/29/50, and 9/22/48.

2-New York
1-Bureau
1-WFO
LSM:plf
(4)

AIRTEL

161-2126 - 9

NOT RECORDED

13 AUG 3 1962

JB

No action
8/2/62
gdt

FBI

Date: 8/2/62

Mr.	Belmont
Mr.	Mohr
Mr.	Callahan
Mr.	Conrad
Mr.	DeLoach
Mr.	Evans
Mr.	Malone
Mr.	Rosen
Mr.	Sullivan
Mr.	Tavel
Mr.	Trotter
Tele	Room
Miss	Holmes
Miss	Gandy

ROOM 1246

b7c

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via **TELETYPE****URGENT**

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SAC, LOS ANGELES

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1788)

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI, BUDED SEPTEMBER SIX, NEXT.

REBUREAU AIRTEL TO WFO JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST, NO
COPY COUNT LOS ANGELES.

STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF COMMANGER WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT, EXACT POSITION NOT STATED. BORN OCTOBER TWENTYFIVE, TWO, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, PRESENTLY PROFESSOR HISTORY AND AMERICAN STUDIES, AMHERST COLLEGE, BOSTON, FORMERLY WITH NYU, AND COLUMBIA.

HCUA REVEALS WAS SPEAKER UNDER AUSPICES ACLU AT WOMENS UNIVERSITY CLUB, FIVE FOUR ZERO SOUTH CATALINA AVENUE, LOS ANGELES,
OCTOBER EIGHTEEN, FIFTYNINE, ON "THE FEARFUL FIFTIES, THE LAST
DECade OF FEAR AND CONFORMITY IN THE UNITED STATES" AND PEOPLES
WORLD REFERRED TO HIM OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR, FIFTYNINE, AS CHIEF
SPEAKER AT CLU PROTEST MEETING PROTESTING HEARING OF HCUA IN
LOS ANGELES, LOS ANGELES CHECK INDICES AND CHECK INFORMANTS, IF

DEEMED APPROPRIATE. PENDING.

1cc destroyed

(2) - Bureau

9/19/62

2 - Teletype Unit

9/19/62

1 - WFO

9/19/62

161-2126-10
NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962 FBI

Approved: mwm

Sent _____ M Per _____

LSM:djt Special Agent in Charge

(5)

720 action
8/2/62
ggp

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 2 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

B URGENT 8-2-62 6-52 PM CST IJS
TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, ALBANY
FROM SAC, OMAHA 161-174 3P

b7c

1246

b7
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

HENRY STEELE COMMANGER, SPI, BUDED AUGUST SIX, NEXT,
WITHOUT FAIL.

RE BOSTON TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED AUGUST ONE, LAST.
FOR INFO ALBANY, STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF COMMANGER WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT, EXACT POSITION NOT STATED. BORN OCTOBER TWENTY-FIVE, NINETEEN ZERO TWO, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, AND RESIDES AMHERST, MASS., WHERE IS PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND AMERICAN STUDIES, AMHERST COLLEGE.

CONDUCT THROUGH INVESTIGATION COVERING CHARACTER, LOYALTY, GENERAL STANDING AND ABILITY. COMPLETE NAMES AND CURRENT ADDRESSES OF ALL CLOSE RELATIVES MUST BE ASCERTAINED BY ACTIVE INFORMATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH.

RE TELETYPE ADVISED BUREAU FILES CONTAIN NUMEROUS REFERENCES CONCERNING COMMANGER WHO HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF

END PAGE ONE

1cc destroyed

8/2/62
GPM

GPM

DPA

161-2126-11

PAGE TWO

DIRECTOR, BUREAU, AND GOVERNMENT LOYALTY PROGRAM AND SECURITY IN GENERAL. HE IS ON LIST OF PERSONS NOT BE CONTACTED WITHOUT BUREAU APPROVAL. CONDUCT NO NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATIONS.

MAKE CLEAR TO ALL PERSONS INTERVIEWED THE PURPOSE OF CURRENT INVESTIGATION. EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED TO OBLVIAE ANY POSSIBILITY OF CHARGES OF CHARACTER ASSASSINATION BEING MADE AGAINST BUREAU.

INQUIRY BY BOSTON DIVISION AT AMHERST, MASS., DISCLOSED

[REDACTED]

b7c

INQUIRY IOWA CITY, IOWA, REVEAL THAT

[REDACTED]

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c |

ALBANY VERIFY CURRENT ADDRESS OF [REDACTED]
AND CONDUCT APPROPRIATE AGENCY CHECKS.

END AND ACK IN ORD PLS

WA 8-59 PM OK FB I WA LVS

AL OK FBI AL WEB

TU DISCO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BALTIMORE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/2/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/27 - 31/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY b7c ek
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCES:

Bureau airtel to Baltimore, 7/24/62;
 Bureau teletype to Baltimore, 7/27/62;
 Baltimore teletype to Bureau and Washington Field, 7/31/62.

- RUC -

Monica

INFORMANTS:

No informants were contacted regarding appointee within the Baltimore Division, inasmuch as no residence within this division is known.

b7c b7d [REDACTED] who furnished written statement of information contained in report to SA [REDACTED] on January 17, 1956, and is filed in Baltimore file
b7c b7d [REDACTED] symbol utilized in this report only because of absolute necessity.

A*
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X

APPROVED <i>EATP</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 161-2126-12
COPIES MADE: 1 - Bureau 1 - Baltimore (161-840)		NOT RECORDED 11 AUG 3 1962
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS <i>Specified AG</i>
AGENCY.....		
REQUEST RECD.....		
DATE FWD.....		
HOW FWD.....		
BY.....		

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c
Date: August 2, 1962 Office: Baltimore, Maryland

Field Office File No.: 161-840 Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Investigation revealed appointee received honorary Doctor of Letters degree, Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland, on June 9, 1957. Baltimore Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised appointee lectured at Goucher College on January 5, 1956, and attacked entry of U. S. Government into realm of thought, that freedom of expression of ideas in fields such as religion, education, tax-exempt foundations, communications, was so censured that all liberties being threatened and he spoke sarcastically of all Government security and investigations. No record located in files of G-2, U. S. Army Counterintelligence Records Facility, Fort Holabird, Maryland.

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT CHESTERTOWN, MARYLANDEDUCATION

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland, advised that appointee received an honorary Doctor of Letters degree at the commencement exercises at the college on June 9, 1957.

AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

BA 161-840

MISCELLANEOUS

On January 17, 1956, Baltimore Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised as follows:

"On the evening of January 5, 1956, I drove to Goucher College, where I attended a lecture by HENRY STEEL COMMAGER, Professor of American History at Columbia University, in which he attacked the entry of the United States Government into the realm of thought. He said that freedom of expression of ideas in such fields as religion, education, tax-exempt foundations, science, communications, was so censured that "all of our liberties were being threatened. He spoke very sarcastically of all Government security and investigation. His audience was captivated."

✓ The files of G-2, U. S. Army Counterintelligence Records Facility, Fort Holabird, Maryland, were checked by IC [REDACTED] on July 31, 1962, through the [REDACTED] without locating any record of the captioned individual.

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TOWS
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Baltimore, Maryland

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 161-840

August 2, 1962

Title HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character SPECIAL INQUIRY

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED] b7c
this date, at Baltimore

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

~~SECRET~~FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION *(B)*

REPORTING OFFICE CHICAGO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/3/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/30 - 8/2/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE-COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY b7C b7C blg
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY	

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Chicago, dated 7/24/62.
Bureau teletype to Chicago, dated 7/27/62.

- RUC -

*possible info
p 2*

ADMINISTRATIVE

Careful consideration was given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the source must be concealed.

INFORMANTS

D2
b7D

(requested)

Current Negative Informant Contacts

Source **b2** Date of Contact **7/30/62**

Agent

SA [REDACTED]

b7C

APPROVED *[Signature]*

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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- 1 - Chicago (161-692)

161-2126-13
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18 AUG 6 1962

7/15/62

CLASSIFIED BY *6426NLS/50ep/kh*
DECLASSIFICATION DATE *7/15/72* BY *40238/142/bk*

NOTATIONS

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE**

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT				
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DATE FWD...
HOW FWD...
BY...

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CG 161-692

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<u>Source</u>	<u>Date of Contact</u>	<u>Agent</u>
[REDACTED]	7/31/62	SA [REDACTED]
(S)	7/31/62	SA [REDACTED]
	8/1/62	SA [REDACTED]
	8/1/62	SA [REDACTED]

RECEIVED BY

- B* -
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 8/3/62

Office: Chicago

Field Office File No.: 161-692

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

b7c

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Appointee entered University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 1919, received PHB 1923, AM 1924, and PHD 1928. Professor who also knows appointee personally advises he knows nothing unfavorable concerning the character, associates, and reputation of appointee and no reason to doubt his loyalty. Professor recommends. No credit or arrest record located Chicago, Illinois. In 1954 issue "Daily Worker" article reflects appointee stated "We must abandon the indignity of teachers' loyalty oaths, and legislative investigations to discover subversives" among educators. Name "Prof. Henry S. Commager" listed as the signer of letter requesting addressee to petition President of United States for executive clemency for FRANK WILKINSON and CARL BRADEN.

- RUC -

CG 161-692

DETAILS:

Education

University of Chicago
5801 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
Registrar's Office, advised that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, 510
East 64th Street, born October 25, 1902, entered the University
of Chicago on March 31, 1919. The record reflects appointee
attended Hyde Park High School and graduated in 1919.
Appointee attended the following quarters at the University of
Chicago:

Spring, summer, and autumn, 1919
Winter spring, and autumn, 1920
Winter, spring, summer, and autumn, 1921
Winter, spring, and autumn, 1922
Winter, spring, summer, and autumn, 1923
Winter, spring, 1924
Summer, autumn, 1925
Winter, and summer, 1926

The record reflects that the appointee was elected
to Phi Beta Kappa, received a PHB on June 12, 1923, with honors
in history, received a scholarship for excellence in senior
college work in history, received an AM on June 10, 1924, and
a PHD on June 12, 1928. The record also reflects that credits
were allowed from the University of Copenhagen on April 23, 1926.
[REDACTED] advised that she knew of no one now on campus who would b7c
recall the appointee.

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] Department
of History, advised that she could think of no one who might b7c
recall the appointee with the possible exception of Professor [REDACTED]

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
Department of History, advised that he was the advisor for the
appointee in the pursuance of his PHD and that he passed on
appointee's dissertation. He stated he had known the appointee

CG 161-692

since about 1927 and knows him to be one of the most famous historians in the United States who has written many well regarded books and is well known as an outstanding teacher and public figure. He advised he knows nothing unfavorable concerning the character, associates, reputation, or loyalty of the appointee and that he would most certainly recommend him for a position of trust with the Government.

Credit and Arrest

On July 30, 1962, [REDACTED] Chicago Credit Bureau, Incorporated, Chicago, Illinois, advised Investigative Clerk (IC) [REDACTED] that her files contained no information identifiable with the appointee. b7c

On July 30, 1962, the files of the Bureau of Records and Communications, Chicago Police Department, Chicago, as checked by [REDACTED] failed to reflect any information identifiable with COMMAGER.

Miscellaneous

The "Daily Worker" issue of November 9, 1954, on Page 2, Columns 2 and 3 in article captioned "Prof. Commager Assails Witchhunts in Schools" which article is datelined Chicago, November 8, reflected that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Professor of History at Columbia University, declared "yesterday" that "We must abandon the indignity of teachers' loyalty oaths, and legislative investigations to discover subversives" among educators. The article continued that COMMAGER spoke at the National Conference of the Adult Education Association and related that it was imperative to reverse the wide spread attitude that most teachers and scholars have an affinity for subversion.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

[REDACTED] advised on June 5, and June 9, 1961, that letters mailed out from Chicago, Illinois, to prominent people requested the addressee to petition the President of the United States to pardon FRANK WILKINSON and CARL BRADEN. b2 b7D

CG 161-692

As an enclosure to each letter there was "a petition for clemency to the President of the United States" which advised the President that the signer supported the petition for executive clemency submitted to the President by CARL BRADEN and FRANK WILKINSON whose appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States were denied on February 27, 1961, by a decision of five to four. One of the signers of the letter mentioned above was one "(Prof.) Henry S. Commager". [REDACTED] advised he was not acquainted with COMMAGER.

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b7C

[REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7C

Confidential informants familiar with some phases of Communist activity in the Chicago, Illinois, area were contacted, and all advised that they did not know the appointee and knew of no information regarding him.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

August 3, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. **161-692**

Title

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Reference

Report of Special Agent
[REDACTED] dated
[REDACTED] captioned as above.

b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE OMAHA	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/3/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/2/62 REG-38
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY mrh
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCE

Boston teletype 8/1/62.
Teletype to Albany 8/2/62.

RUC.

- A* -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

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- (b)(7)(A)
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- (b)(8)
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- (d)(5)
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE RICHMOND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/3/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/30/62 - 8/2/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY ██████████ b7C	TYPED BY ngh
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated 7/24/62.
 Bureau teletype to Baltimore dated 7/27/62.

- RUC -

INFORMANTS:

Informants mentioned in this report as having some knowledge of Communist Party activities in the State of Virginia were contacted on 7/30/62 by SA ██████████ b7C and are identified as follows:

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██████████

✓ Mervin J. 1944

APPROVED By	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY.....
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DATE FWD.....
HOW FWD.....
BY.....

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: [REDACTED] b7c
Date: 8/3/62

Office: Richmond, Virginia

Field Office File No.: 161-235

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: COMMAGER gave lecture series at University of Virginia, 1944. No credit or arrest record located at Charlottesville, Virginia.

- RUC -

DETAILS:AT CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

the University of Virginia, was contacted on July 30, 1962, and advised that the Richards Lectures are a series of lectures made available by a grant known as the Richards Lectures. She advised that the series is given every other year and usually for a three day period. She stated that the series alternates between lectures on religion and history. [REDACTED] advised that she was not at the University of Virginia in 1944 and does not recall COMMAGER giving the 1944 Richards Lecture series. She suggested that Professor [REDACTED] of the History Department at the University might possibly recall COMMAGER giving the 1944 Richards Lecture series.

RH 161-235

[REDACTED] History Department, University of Virginia, advised on July 30, 1962, that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER had been the Richards lecturer in 1944. [REDACTED] advised that he was not at the University during that period, but that records available in his office indicate that COMMAGER gave the 1944 lecture series. [REDACTED] stated that the series usually consists of two or three lectures given on consecutive days during alternate years. [REDACTED] advised that he is not personally acquainted with COMMAGER, but knows him to be regarded as an eminent historian. [REDACTED] advised that he has read a number of COMMAGER's books and that from reading those books nothing came to his attention which would cause him in any way to question the loyalty of COMMAGER.

b7c

[REDACTED] advised that since the lecture series was given during the war years, there was no one currently available at the University of Virginia History Department who would have attended the Richards Lectures during 1944.

CREDIT

Records of the Retail Merchants Association, Charlottesville, Virginia, as made available on August 2, 1962, by [REDACTED] failed to locate any credit record for HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

ARREST

Records of the Charlottesville Police Department, as made available by Assistant Chief of Police [REDACTED] on August 2, 1962, failed to locate any record of arrest for COMMAGER.

Records of the Albemarle County Clerk of Court's Office, Charlottesville, Virginia, as checked by [REDACTED] Clerk of Court, failed to locate any arrest record for COMMAGER.

RH 16L-235

MISCELLANEOUS

Confidential informants who are aware of some of the activities of the Communist Party in the State of Virginia as well as the identities of some of its members, advised on July 30, 1962, that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER is unknown to them and they have no information concerning him.

The Communist Party, USA, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Section 552

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/3/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/31/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY clh
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCES:

Bureau airtel to Cincinnati, 7/24/62.
 Bureau teletype to Cincinnati, 7/27/62.

- RUC -

for info

- A* -

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1 - Bureau (AMSD) 1 - Cincinnati (161-204)		NOT RECORDED		
		16 AUG 6 1962		
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT				
AGENCY.....				
REQUEST RECD.....				
DATE FWD.....				
HOW FWD.....				
BY.....				
NOTATIONS				

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the form]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:SA [REDACTED] b7c
8/3/62

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File No.: 161-204

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Records of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, reflect HENRY STEELE COMMAGER received an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature at this university on 4/14/58. No credit or arrest record at Delaware, Ohio. An article in the "Firing Line," an American Legion Publication, dated 12/1/55, reflects COMMAGER was a member of the Committee of Welcome for the "Red" Dean of Canterbury, Very Reverend HEWLETT JOHNSON, when he, JOHNSON, was invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in 1948. COMMAGER also remarked in 1949 that the Department of Justice and the FBI have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors, spies, and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the Nation.

C.P. MEM BGR

- RUC -

CI 161-204

DETAILS:

AT DELAWARE, OHIO

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c Ohio Wesleyan University, advised her records reflect that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER on April 14, 1958, was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature by Dr. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, who was then President of this university.

The following is an exact copy of the citation used by Dr. FLEMMING in awarding this honorary degree to COMMAGER:

"Dedicated teacher who has inspired thousands of students to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, devoted scholar who in season and out of season has sought to aid mankind in his search for a way of life that will bring the maximum good to the maximum number, skilled interpreter of the great issues of our day in the light of the experience of the past, a national leader whose prophetic insights are a challenge to men and women in and out of public life; by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Board of Trustee of The Ohio Wesleyan University and on recommendation of the Faculty, I hereby confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Literature, with all the honors, rights, privileges and responsibilities thereunto appertaining."

Credit and Arrest

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c Delaware, Ohio Credit Bureau, advised she had no information in file concerning appointee.

On July 31, 1962, Chief WILLIAM MORRIS advised he had no arrest record in file for appointee.

CI 161-204

Miscellaneous

An article concerning HENRY STEELE COMMAGER appears in the publication, "Firing Line," dated December 1, 1955, Volume IV, Number 25, which is identified as The American Legion publication, prepared and distributed by The National Americanism Commission, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana. This article appearing on page 128 of this issue, reflects that COMMAGER was a member of the Committee of Welcome for the "Red" Dean of Canterbury, Very Reverend HEWLETT JOHNSON, when JOHNSON was originally invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in 1948.

COMMAGER stated the following year that, "We are now embarked upon a campaign of suppression and oppression more reckless, more pervasive, and ultimately dangerous than any in our history...The hue and cry goes on without regard to the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the nation..." COMMAGER is a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been cited by the Attorney General as coming within the purview of Executive Order 10450.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/3/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/31-8/3/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] b7C	TYPED BY grb
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCES: New York airtel to Director dated 7/31/62.
WFO airtel to Director dated 8/2/62.

- HUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Information as referred to by referenced WFO airtel concerning COMMAGER's speech under the auspices of the ACLU in 1959, and the PW's reference to him as chief speaker at a CLU in Los Angeles in 1959 is not being set out because of Bureau's instructions not to document these organizations in reports. All pertinent information from the indicies of the Los Angeles Office is set out in instant report. SA [REDACTED] was recontacted by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] was recontacted by SA [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were recontacted by SA [REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7C

APPROVED <i>W.H.S.</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: ① - Bureau 1 - Los Angeles (161-115) <i>JW</i>		161-2126-119 NOT RECORDED 12 AUG 6 1962 SPEE [initials]
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS
AGENCY.....	REQUEST RECD.....	
DATE FWD.....		
HOW FWD.....		
BY.....		

LA 161-115

INFORMANTS

Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and "T" symbols were utilized in this report in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

<u>Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

*b2
b7D*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c
Date: August 3, 1962

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File No.: 161-115

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER's speech before the Citizen's Committee to Preserve American Freedom, May, 1957, at Los Angeles set out. COMMAGER referred to by DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the Southern California District Communist Party, favorably in 1960.

- RUC -

DETAILS:b2 [REDACTED] (5/22/57)
b7D [REDACTED] (5/24/57)

At a meeting of the Citizen's Committee to Preserve American Freedom (see appendix) held at the Hollywood Athletic Club, Hollywood, California, May 18, 1957, HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Professor of History, Columbia University and Amherst College, was the speaker of the evening. His subject was "The Leviathan State, Federal Centralization in the Realm of Ideas." He stated in part as follows: "There was a marked growth of centralization apparent in the United States during recent years. He continued that the individual states are losing their function as testing grounds of legislation. It was fortunate, he continued, that only in Tennessee was legislation attempted which regulated the teaching of the theory of evolution. COMMAGER continued, even though there is a need for some centralization, the encroachment of Federal

LA 161-115

authority into the realm of ideas was of dubious merit. He continued that the regulation of the nation's thinking has been carried on in various ways. Because of the Government investigation of employes, a form of censorship has arisen over some means of communication. Newspapers are affected and he used the "New York Times" as an example. Questioning of political beliefs of persons engaged in television, the theater, musicians and other creative arts has become another means whereby the Federal government seeks to impose its beliefs upon the realm of man's thoughts. The Post Office Department can also regulate the kinds of literature distributed throughout the nation which impedes the right of the public to read freely. This censorship is also found in the U. S. Customs Bureau which recently prohibited the entrance into the United States of text books used by Polish school children. He stated regardless of the merit of the text books themselves the United States Customs is not the Bureau properly qualified to set standards and make decisions as to whether or not publications from other countries can be read in the United States. He stated that freedom to think and read widely is one of the rights which free men everywhere hold dear."

[REDACTED] (5/24/57)

b2
b7D

[REDACTED] advised that at the above meeting COMMAGER contributed \$100 to the Citizen's Committee to Observe American Freedom.

[REDACTED] {2/3/60}
[REDACTED] {2/3/60}

At The Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) Convention, first day second session, held in Los Angeles on January 29, 1960, DOROTHY HEALEY, in a speech, said in part "To develop a humanist cultural which could triumph over corruption is partly the role of the communists. Many important figures are rising in this period who recognize the importance of a new cultural development in this country." HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was one of the people HEALEY mentioned. DOROTHY HEALEY is the Chairman of the SCDCP.

In the May 25, 1957, issue of the People's World COMMAGER's speech before the meeting held at the Hollywood Athletic Club, May 18, 1957, sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom, was reported.

LA 161-115

The People's World is a West Coast Communist newspaper.

[REDACTED] were recontacted on
August 1, August 2, August 1, and August 1, respectively and
advised that they had no further information concerning HENRY
STEELE COMMAGER.

b2
b7D

APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes this committee as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing the Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 3, 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
August 3, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 161-115

Title HENRY STEEL COMMAGER

Character SPECIAL INQUIRY

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED] b7c
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/3/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/26 - 8/3/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY vm
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY	

REFERENCES

Bureau airtel to Baltimore, 7/24/62.
 Bureau teletype to Baltimore, 7/27/62.
 NY teletype to Los Angeles, 7/31/62.
 Boston teletype to the Director, 8/1/62.
 NY teletype to Boston, 8/1/62.
 NY teletype to Albany, 8/2/62.

- P -

LEADNEW YORKAt New York, New York

Will report results of contact with Confidential Informants, NYC area, concerning COMMAGER.

APPROVED <i>J.C.</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 161-2126-18
COPIES MADE: ① - Bureau (Encl. 1) 1 - New York (161-1067)		<i>NOT RECORDED</i> AUG 6 1962
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS <i>[Handwritten signatures and initials]</i>
AGENCY.....	.....	.....
REQUEST RECD. ....	.....	.....
DATE FWD. ....	.....	.....
HOW FWD. ....	.....	.....
BY.....	.....	.....

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:

Date:

Field Office File No.:

Title:

[REDACTED] b7c
07/31/62

161-1067

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Office: New York, New York

Bureau File No.:

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Employment verified; [REDACTED] b7c
Columbia University, and other colleagues recommend appointee. Credit records reflect favorable rating for COMMAGER. No arrest record at NYCPD or Rye, NY. No additional pertinent information at BSS, NYCPD. No voting record for COMMAGER or wife at Westchester County. NY Times records reflect COMMAGER among signers in support of LINUS PAULING in his refusal to comply with Senate Subcommittee demand he furnish names of petition circulators. Comments in article concerning presidential Loyalty Order set forth. Comments on security program in article set forth. COMMAGER among signers of amnesty petition in 1955 for 16 Communists. He was among signers of scrolls presented to Dr. HAROLD UREY at dinner given by Chicago Sobell Committee in 1955. Daily Worker reflects he was member of Committee of Welcome for Dean HEWLETT JOHNSON in 1948. Daily Worker reflects he signed petition for pardon for one CARL MARZANI in 1950; MARZANI sentenced to one to three years for false statements during government service.

- P -

ENCLOSURE:

1. Photostat of article "Guilt by Association".
(Exhibit A.)

NY 161-1067

DETAILS:

Employment

Columbia University
116th Street and Broadway
New York, New York

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c advised records reflect HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was appointed an instructor in history on November 5, 1934. On April 5, 1937 he was appointed a Visiting Professor of History and on April 3, 1939, he was appointed Professor of American History. He resigned on January 9, 1956, effective June 30, 1956 and on January 9, 1956, he was appointed Adjunct Professor of American History. On April 3, 1961, he was appointed Visiting Professor of History from September 28, 1961 to January 31, 1962. [REDACTED] advised that he received no subsequent appointment.

These records reflect he had attended the University of Chicago, where he received a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in 1923, a Master of Arts degree in 1924 and a Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1928.

On August 2, 1962, [REDACTED] phg Columbia University, advised he has known COMMAGER since 1940. He stated his association with him has been mostly professional and he considers him to be a person of good character, morals and reputation.

He stated he has never had reason to question COMMAGER's loyalty as an American citizen and he described the appointee as an "academic liberal" and a "liberal historian". [REDACTED] stated that by liberal he meant one who has a sympathetic interest in such matters as civil rights and racial equality. He stated COMMAGER is militant in his views on social questions but his attitude is not one which might reflect upon his adherence to democratic principles.

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[REDACTED] added that COMMAGER is the type of individual who would give consideration to another's views even though he did not sympathize with them. He stated that in his opinion, if COMMAGER were to be charged with official responsibility, he would be very discreet.

b7c

He concluded by stating that he recommends COMMAGER for a position involving trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Columbia University, advised he has known COMMAGER since about 1940 or 1941 on a professional basis only. He stated he believes the appointee to be a person of very good character, who enjoys a favorable reputation among his contemporaries. He stated he believes the appointee to be a loyal American citizen and said, "If he isn't, GEORGE WASHINGTON and THOMAS JEFFERSON weren't."

[REDACTED] stated COMMAGER is too much of an individualist to take orders from anyone and is not the type of individual who is "used" by people. He stated COMMAGER is not taken over easily but, to use a hypothetical situation, if the Communists were to use the principle of academic freedom for their own end, COMMAGER is the type of individual who would be fighting for the principle itself and his works and writings would tend therefore to be of some aid.

Concerning COMMAGER's choice of associates, [REDACTED] advised that there is always the possibility that an individual like COMMAGER might be unduly criticized in this respect. He stated COMMAGER is the type of person who would select his associates on the basis of those who interest him. He stated that even if a person were a Communist and COMMAGER found him interesting, he would not hesitate to associate with him, although he [REDACTED] feels COMMAGER would not be negatively influenced in such a case.

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[redacted] stated he feels COMMAGER is of great value to the academic world and would be of similar value to the government. He stated he does not believe the appointee is suited for a position in which he would have to rigidly conform but would be well fit for one in which he would have latitude of thought and action.

b7c

[redacted] concluded by stating that he recommends COMMAGER for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

[redacted] On August 1, 1962, [redacted] advised he has known COMMAGER on a professional and social basis since the appointee began at Columbia University. He described the appointee as a man of good character, morals and reputation and one who is something of a "Puritan". He stated he has never had reason to question COMMAGER's loyalty as an American citizen or his choice of associates and considers him to be strongly liberal in his political views. He stated that by liberal he meant COMMAGER believes in the rights and dignity of the individual.

b7c 3

for

[redacted] stated he knows the appointee's wife, EVAN, his son, HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, JR., and his daughter, ELISABETH. He stated he considers them all to be individuals of the same caliber as COMMAGER and he highly recommends the appointee without hesitation for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

b7c

[redacted] On August 1, 1962, [redacted] Department of History, advised he has known COMMAGER since 1941 on a social and professional basis. He stated he considers the appointee to be a loyal American citizen of good character, morals and reputation. He advised he believes COMMAGER to be discreet in his choice of associates and he recommends him for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government with no reservation.

b7c A

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New York University
Washington Square
New York, New York

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
Office of the Vice President, advised records
reflect HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, born October 25, 1902,
was appointed an instructor in history on May 26, 1926
effective September 1, 1926. On September 1, 1929, he
was appointed an Assistant Professor, on September 1,
1930 he was appointed an Associate Professor and he
left September 1, 1939.

[REDACTED] advised his record is clear
and satisfactory.

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED] 5
[REDACTED] advised he attended the University of Chicago
with COMMAGER in the early 1920s and knew him as a
colleague during the time he was at New York University.
He stated he had some social contact with the appointee
during these years and worked in the same office with
him at New York University. He stated he also knows the
appointee's wife, EVAN, who is an author of children's
books.

[REDACTED] described COMMAGER as one of the most
brilliant and outstanding historians in the United States.
He stated although COMMAGER has been outspoken in his
writings, he does not feel it has ever reflected un-
favorably upon his adherence to democratic principles
of government. He advised he has always felt COMMAGER
is a person of good character, morals and reputation and
he has never had reason to question his loyalty as an
American citizen or his choice of associates. He added
he considers the appointee's wife to be an individual of
the same caliber.

NY 161-1067

[REDACTED] stated he always thought COMMAGER should have a position involving "interpreting the United States to people in foreign countries", perhaps in the capacity of Minister or Ambassador. b7C

He advised he highly recommends COMMAGER for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

On August 2, 1962, [REDACTED] advised he knew COMMAGER as a colleague in the Department of History during the time the appointee was employed at the University. He stated his contact with him was social and professional and he always considered him to be a person of good character, reputation and associates. He advised he believes COMMAGER to be a loyal American and he has no question about his basic commitment to Western tradition. He stated he has met the appointee's wife, EVAN, and considers her to be a person of the same caliber as the appointee. He recommends COMMAGER for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government. f/w 6

NY 161-1067

Credit Records

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED] Westchester Credit Bureau, White Plains, New York, advised SA [REDACTED] that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, 30 Grace Church Street, Rye, New York, had a favorable credit rating.

b7c

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, furnished to IO [REDACTED] by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] on August 2, 1962, reflect no information pertinent to this investigation.

Arrest Records

On August 1, 1962, CHARLES MC LOUGHLIN, Chief of Police, Rye, New York, advised SA [REDACTED] that he could locate no record for the appointee.

On July 31, 1962 and August 1, 1962, SA [REDACTED] caused the records of the New York City Police Department (NYCPD) to be checked by Deputy Inspector [REDACTED] Bureau of Criminal Identification; [REDACTED] Information Unit; Lieutenant [REDACTED] Old Record Room (all of the above of the NYCPD); and [REDACTED] Fingerprint Bureau, Magistrate's Court, City of New York. There was no record located identifiable with the appointee.

NY 161-1067

Miscellaneous

b7c

On August 2, 1962, [REDACTED] Amherst University, was interviewed at his office, the Chase Manhattan Bank, 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza. He stated that although he does not know COMMAGER personally and can furnish no information of a background type, he considers the appointee to be an alert, vigorous minded teacher and a man of great capability. He stated he does not feel he knows enough about the appointee to recommend him for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

On August 2, 1962, SA [REDACTED] caused the records of the Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, to be checked by Inspector [REDACTED]. There was no additional pertinent information located.

The records of the Board of Elections, Westchester County, White Plains, New York, reviewed by SA [REDACTED] on August 1, 1962, reflect no voting record for the appointee or his wife.

NY 161-1067

*1960
National*

Records of the "New York Times" newspaper morgue reflect that an advertisement appeared in the October 10, 1960 issue of the paper, submitted and paid for by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), 421 7th Avenue, New York City. The advertisement was captioned "MY CONSCIENCE WILL NOT ALLOW ME TO PROTECT MYSELF BY SACRIFICING THESE IDEALISTIC YOUNG PEOPLE. I AM NOT GOING TO DO IT." It was a statement by Dr. LINUS PAULING on June 21, 1960, when he rejected the demand of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he disclose the names of other scientists who had helped him circulate a petition calling for cessation of nuclear bomb testing. Among those who signed in support of Dr. PAULING in his refusal to comply with the Committee's demand was Professor HENRY COMMAGER, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Information on the ECLC will be found in the appendix hereto.

WV

These records further reflect an article by HENRY STEELE COMMAGER in the November 3, 1953 issue of the paper entitled "GUILT - AND INNOCENCE - BY ASSOCIATION." In this article he states, "This crime of guilt by association made its first appearance in Federal Law in the Alien Registration Act of 1940; it became not merely a crime but a disability and a sin by virtue of President Truman's Loyalty Order of 1947 - an order which set up as one standard for employment or dismissal' membership in, association with, or sympathetic affiliation with any *** organization, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as *** subversive'." He adds, "To the witch-hunters of our time no more plausible test was ever devised than this one, for sooner or later almost every man or woman who is active in public affairs joins some organization that somebody considers subversive".... "Yet no more pernicious doctrine has ever found its way into law or into popular acceptance than this doctrine of guilt by association. It is pernicious in principle, in application, and in consequences."

In the article COMMAGER states, "...the doctrine is wrong practically, It is, after all, neither possible nor desirable that we engage in a check of the membership, past as well as present, of all organizations to which we belong or which we are asked to join." Later in the article he states, "Certainly no one should give his name to an organization gratuitously without some investigation or assurance of its character."

A copy of this article is being attached as Exhibit A.

NY 161-1067

*1951
nature
Copy*

In an article in the newspaper dated November 24, 1957, captioned "Where Government May Not Trespass," COMMAGER states, "First there is the approval of the 'security' program which President TRUMAN inaugurated, and which has expanded under Mr. EISENHOWER. I am not concerned here with the wisdom or the ethics of the program itself, with its monstrous abuses, with its palpable inefficiency." He cites, as an example of the growth of Federal authority in the realm of ideas, the exercise of control over travel. "Time was when Americans did not need passports for travel abroad.... The use of the passport and the visa as a mark of approval or disapproval is something new in our history and it is fraught with danger. If the right to travel abroad is to depend on the subjective judgment of some subordinate in the State Department as to whose travel is 'in the interests of the United States,' there is an end - in theory at least - to freedom of travel."

✓

In an article datelined Chicago, November 7, appearing in the November 8, 1954, edition of the "Times," COMMAGER, appearing before the National Conference of the Adult Education Association stated, "We must abandon the indignity of teachers' loyalty oaths and legislative investigations to discover subversives among educators." "We must abandon.... inquiries into the curriculum and the libraries and the textbooks to discover dangerous ideas."

✓

An article in the newspaper dated December 21, 1955, reflects that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was one of forty-six who signed a petition to President EISENHOWER seeking "Christmas amnesty" for sixteen Communists imprisoned under the Smith Act. The article reflects "Signers made clear that they did not agree with the beliefs of the Communist Party."

✓

An article in the newspaper dated October 4, 1956, reflects that a supplementary petition to President EISENHOWER asking amnesty for the communists imprisoned under the Smith Act was signed by "several hundred educators, clergy and others." The petition stated those who signed it "are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life." Among the signers was HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Historian.

NY 161-1067

*1953
Henry Steele Commager
from*

An article in the newspaper dated February 13, 1955 captioned "UREY DENOUNCES ATOM SPY'S TRIAL", reflects that Dr. HAROLD UREY, Professor, University of Chicago, spoke on February 12, 1955 at a testimonial dinner given by the Chicago Sobell Committee, a unit of the National Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL. He charged SOBELL, who was convicted as a result of the case involving JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG, 'The Atom Spies', "was not properly tried and that the verdict and sentence were not justified." He charged the ROSENBERGS were not proved guilty of the crime for which they were executed. At this testimonial dinner, a bound volume of scrolls was presented to UREY, signed by 5000 persons throughout the world in tribute to him as a scientist and for his achievements as a citizen. The volume stated "In your protests in the ROSENBERG and SOBELL Case, even to those who may disagree with your evaluation of the case itself, you have exemplified the vital principle of seeking out firmly and courageously when one feels an injustice has taken place." One of the signers of these scrolls was HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Columbia University.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., reflects the following:

"Chicago Sobell Committee"

"1. Cited as one of the local organizations active in the Communist propaganda campaign exploiting atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell. 'Bank records of April 8, 1954, list Gertrude Gunther as chairman and Phyllis Pildes as Executive secretary of the organization. On February 7, 1955 *** the bank records listed Ruth Rothstein as chairman; Ruth Belmont as secretary, and David L. Saltker, husband of Gertrude Gunther, as treasurer.' (Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 124.)"

NY 161-1067

Glenda

The "Daily Worker" of September 22, 1948, page five, contains an article reflecting that 93 prominent United States leaders formed a Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend HEWLETT JOHNSON, D.D., Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, England. JOHNSON had been invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship for a country-wide tour under its auspices. A visa was refused him on the ground that the sponsoring organization was "on the Attorney General's List". A State Department spokesman indicated that a visa would be granted to the Dean, if he applies for a new one, in view of his new sponsors. A letter to the Secretary of State by the Committee of Welcome stated, "We wish to see Dean JOHNSON accorded the right to tell his story to the American people for them to accept or reject, as they themselves choose. We do not, by this invitation, indicate our personal agreement with him." A list of the members of the Committee included HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Columbia University.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

The National Council of American Soviet Friendship has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The July 18, 1952 issue of "Counterattack, Facts to Combat Communism", characterizes HEWLETT JOHNSON as a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain; that he was on the Editorial Board of the London "Daily Worker", and that he had repeatedly written that workers everywhere must have a strong Communist Party. He is quoted as having written, "I embraced scientific Socialism and Communism forty years ago."

NY 161-1067

The "New York Daily News" issue of October 9, 1952, contains an article datelined Washington, D.C., reflecting that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, noted historian, was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as being a member of the "Committee of Welcome" for the Very Reverend HEWLETT JOHNSON, the "Red Dean of Canterbury" in 1948. "This group offered to sponsor an American visit for JOHNSON after his passport visa had been turned down. He was originally scheduled to speak under the auspices of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, cited as a subversive and Communist organization by the Attorney General."

The "Daily Worker" of July 3, 1950, contains an article captioned "1000 Notables Urge Pardon for Marzani". This article reflects that a petition for pardon of one CARL MARZANI had been sent to President TRUMAN. It stated MARZANI had served 17 months of a one to three year sentence imposed when found guilty of false statements alleged to be made during government service, concerning political affiliations of an earlier period. It added, "others in the teaching profession who signed are HENRY COMMAGER...".

NY 161-1067

1.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

"1. 'The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is an organization with headquarters in New York, whose avowed purpose is to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities and discredit the FBI. * * * The committee finds that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, established in 1951, although representing itself as a non-Communist group, actually operates as a front for the Communist Party. It has repeatedly assisted, by means of funds and legal aid, Communists involved in Smith Act violations and similar legal proceedings. One of its chief activities has been and still is the dissemination of voluminous Communist propaganda material.'

'FRANK WILKINSON was called as a witness when he appeared in Atlanta as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to propagandize against the Committee on Un-American Activities and to protest its hearings. In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party. Summoned at that time to answer the allegation, his reply to all questions was, "I am answering no questions of this committee." This also became his stock reply to questions when he appeared during the Atlanta hearings. * * * WILKINSON has since been convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail.'

NY 161-1067

2.

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (CONT'D)

'Disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the ECLC also have been identified under oath as Communists.
* * *'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1958, House Report 187, March 9, 1959, pp. 34 and 35.)

"2. 'To defend the cases of Communist law-breakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 8 1962

TELETYPE

URGENT

11-20

8-3-62

Mem

TO, DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM, SAC, BOSTON /161-856/
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. SPI.

RE NEW YORK TEL AUGUST TWO, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO.

UNAVAILABLE UNTIL AFTERNOON OF
AUGUST SIX, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO.

IN OTHER INVESTIGATION EMPLOYMENT VERIFIED AND
FAVORABLE. OTHER PROFESSORS AND HISTORIANS INCLUDING [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED], RECOMMEND
COMMAGER AS A MAN OF INTEGRITY AND ABILITY WHO IS REGARDED
AS ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING HISTORIANS OF THIS COUNTRY. CREDIT
AND ARREST RECORD CHECKS FAVORABLE. WILL SUREP IMMEDIATELY
AFTER ABOVE INTERVIEW.

END

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9/9/62
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 3 1962

TELETYPE

URGENT 8-3-62 2-00 AM CAS

TO DIRECTOR FBI /4/ AND SAC ALBANY
FROM SAC NEW YORK 161-1067
HENRY STEELE COMMANDER, SPI.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLeach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7c
ROOM 1245

STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION TO COMMANDER
WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT, POSITION NOT
STATED. BORN OCTOBER TWENTYFIVE NINETEEN SIXTY TWO, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
AT AMHERST U., MASS. ASSIGN IMMEDIATELY, AFFORD CONTINUOUS ATTENTION,
SET OUT LEADS BY TEL. BUDED AUGUST SIX WITHOUT FAIL.

ONI

b7c

file

101-2126-20
ALBANY ATTEMPT TO LOCATE AND

INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED

b7c

END AND ACK

OCT 9 1962

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JW/1245 A.M.

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DTB

*no action
8/3/62
JW*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 3 1962

JW

TELETYPE

URGENT 8-3-62 6-14 PM WEB *b7c*

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, ALBANY /161-360/ 1P

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI, BUDED AUGUST SIX NEXT.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND ALBANY DATED AUGUST THREE
INSTANT.

[REDACTED] OUT OF CONTACT WITH HIS OFFICE, SYRACUSE, *b7c*
NEW YORK UNTIL AUGUST SIX NEXT. WILL SUBMIT REPORT AUGUST SIX NEXT
TO REACH BUREAU AUGUST SEVEN NEXT.

END AND ACK PLS

WA 6-16 PM OK FBI WA MSL

TU TZSC P 1cc *destroyed*

161-2126 -21

NOT RECEIVED 17
3 OCT 9 1962

*9/8/62
JW*

MW

*9/8/62
JW*

No action
8/6/62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 6 1962

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

URGENT 8-6-62 6-21PM PMD

TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAC, ALBANY /161-360/

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI. BUDED AUGUST SIX INSTANT.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AUGUST THREE LAST.

[REDACTED] INTERVIEWED THIS DATE AND REPEATED [REDACTED]

b7c

SUBSTANTIALLY INFORMATION FURNISHED REGARDING HIS ASSOCIATION WITH HENRY STEELE COMMAGER IN THE INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS IN APRIL NINETEEN FORTYFIVE AND FORTYSIX. STATED HE WAS NOT CLOSE FRIEND OF COMMAGER BUT THAT COMMAGER AND HIS WIFE WERE FRIENDS OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HE STATED THAT THOSE ATTENDING THE PARTICULAR MEETING IN QUESTION WERE DR. AND MRS. COMMAGER, [REDACTED] AND AS HE RECALLED DR. COMMAGER REFUSED TO BECOME CHAIRMAN OF THE WESTCHESTER CO. COMMITTEE AT THAT TIME, AND LATER STATED THAT HE REALIZED THE ORGANIZATION QUOTE WAS RIGGED END QUOTE BECAUSE THERE WERE TELEGRAMS OF PROTEST WHICH THEY PROPOSED TO SEND TO VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS, NAMES NOT RECALLED, WHICH WERE ALREADY PREPARED AND HE RECALLED DR.

END PAGE ONE ICC destroy 161-2126-22

9/19/62

Q3/bcc

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5 OCT 9 1962

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GPO

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b7c

161-2126-22

PAGE TWO

COMMAGER COMMENTING SUBSEQUENTLY THAT HE HAD BEEN MADE A SUCKER AT
THE MEETING.

NEW YORK INTERVIEW [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ALBANY REPORT BEING SUBMITTED THIS DATE.

END AND ACK PLS

6-27 PM OK FBI WA MLL RELAY

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

- (b)(1)
 (b)(2)
 (b)(3)

 (b)(4)
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- (b)(7)(A)
 (b)(7)(B)
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- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

 Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

 Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

 Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:
161-2126-23

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X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/6/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/26/62 - 8/6/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY jfe
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY	

REFERENCE

Bureau airtel dated 7/24/62.

7/15/62
 CLASSIFIED BY 60267 NSIP/act/jch
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
407784

- P -

ENCLOSURESTO BUREAU

b3 b7c
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 9/19/03 BY OP/CAC
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SA [REDACTED]

b7cINFORMANTS

The confidential informants referred to in this investigation were contacted by the agents set forth below on the date indicated.

APPROVED *mug/jm* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
 COPIES MADE: *ENCLOSURE* 9/19/62
 ① - Bureau (Enc 2) - 1cc *9/19/62* 1cc
 1 - Washington Field (161-1788)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

*161-2126-DB*NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

NOTATIONS

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jm*

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY.....	602 !	712144.05
REQUEST RECD.		
DATE FWD.		
HOW FWD.		
BY	ACF/EM/DMW/25A/HG	

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WFO 161-1788

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b1

[REDACTED] contacted on 7/30/62 by SA [REDACTED]

b7C

b2

[REDACTED] contacted 7/31/62 by SA [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] contacted 7/30/62 by SA [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

In reviewing the appointee's file at the Office of Security, Department of State, it was noted that the Bureau had directed letterhead memoranda on the appointee dated 8/24/53 and 6/13/58 to the Department of State. A great deal of the information appearing in these memos was identical with information appearing in the HCUA, general indices on the appointee and that information is not being repeated in this report.

By letter dated 7/13/48 under the caption, "Washington Book Shop Association, aka, Washington Cooperative Book Shop", IS-C, " A copy of a reprint of the appointee's article "Who Is Loyal to America", was forwarded to the Bureau, attention Central Research Desk. This article originally appeared in "Harper's Magazine", September, 1947.

LEADS

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE

1. Will interview senators from Massachusetts when they are available.
2. Will review CSC file when it is available.
3. Will report appointee's passport record when received.
4. Will report results of CIA check when available.

~~SECRET~~
1032

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: [REDACTED] b7c
Date: 8/6/62

Office: Washington, D. C.

Field Office File No.: 161-1788

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

No record of employment at the Department of State located for the appointee except one day as a consultant without compensation; however, appointee did receive several grants under exchange programs from Department of State. Appointee's file at Security Office, Department of State, disclosed that in 1951 he was not granted security clearance on the basis of a national agency check but that the Selections Committee of the Board on Foreign Scholarships had subsequently given favorable consideration to the appointee. This file contained no additional pertinent information. The library of the "Evening Star" contained no additional pertinent information re appointee. Confidential informants negative. Files of HCUA disclosed appointee was a signer of petitions to President KENNEDY to pardon JUNIUS SCALES, FRANK WILKENSON and CARL BRADEN. SCALES was convicted under Membership Statute of Smith Act and his conviction upheld by the Supreme Court. WILKENSON and BRADEN were convicted of contempt of congress for refusal to testify before HCUA and their convictions were upheld by the Supreme Court. WILKENSON was reported to be executive secretary, National Committee to abolish the HCUA and BRADEN was identified as field secretary SCEF. The HCUA has cited the National Committee to Abolish the un-American Activities Committee as a new organization set up in the summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's "operation abolition" campaign and has also cited FRANK WILKENSON as the organizer of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms which is described as the Communist

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Party's front organization. A source has stated that the executive director of the SCEF is a Communist if not an actual Communist Party member. Another source has stated that the Communist Party reportedly is not connected with any progressive movement, but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

EMPLOYMENT

On August 2, 1962, the following people at the Department of State advised SA [REDACTED] that they could locate no record indicating that the appointee was currently employed by the Department of State: b7C

1. [REDACTED] Personnel Locator,
Office of Personnel.
2. [REDACTED] Personnel Files Section,
Office of Personnel.
3. [REDACTED] Applicant Files,
Employment Division.

A service record card for HENRY S. COMMAGER at the Department of State, reviewed on August 2, 1962, by SA [REDACTED] reflected the following information:

1/10/51 Accepted appointment as Consultant,
without compensation, Division of
Public Liaison, Department of State,
Washington, D. C.
1/11/51 Termination, no reason indicated.
10/25/02 Birth date

On August 3, 1962, [REDACTED] Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State advised SA [REDACTED] that the records of her office reflected that the appointee had been

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awarded the following grants under exchange programs administered by the Department of State:

1. On March 27, 1952, he was awarded a grant under the Fulbright Program as a lecturer in the field of American Studies at the University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, for a one month period from July, 1952, to August, 1952.
2. On January 29, 1954, he was awarded a grant under the Smith-Mundt Program in the field of American History at Universities in Germany and Austria, for the period from June 6, 1954, to July 10, 1954.
3. On April 1, 1955, he was awarded a grant under the Smith-Mundt Program as a specialist in history for a one month period from April, 1955, to May, 1955, at Rome, Italy.
4. On June 5, 1955, he was awarded a grant under the Fulbright Program to lecture in American Studies at the University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark for the period from February, 1956, to June, 1956 ($4\frac{1}{2}$ months).
5. On December 1, 1956, he was awarded a grant under the Smith-Mundt Program as a Specialist in history for the period from December 15, 1956, to December 22, 1956, at Santiago, Chile.

[REDACTED] advised that she could locate no record of any other such grants to the appointee under programs administered by the Department of State. She indicated that her records listed appointee's birth date as November 25, 1902, his address as 30 Grace Church Street, Rye, New York (in 1952, 1954, 1955), and his occupation as Professor of History at Columbia University, New York [REDACTED] New York (from 1952-55). In 1956, according to [REDACTED] b7c the records listed him as Professor of History at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. She advised that her records contained no additional information concerning the appointee.

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MISCELLANEOUS

On August 3, 1962, the appointee's file at the Office of Security, Department of State, was reviewed and a memorandum dated April 2, 1951 was noted in the file indicating that a security clearance was not being granted to the appointee at this time on the basis of a national agency check. On a form dated April 14, 1958, which form bore the caption "Request for security information", the Office of Security advised that favorable consideration was given the appointee by the Selections Committee of the Board on Foreign Scholarships under Public Law 584 on January 15, 1952, and June 6, 1957, and by the IES suitability committee for a U. S. specialist grant on January 8, 1954. This form bore the notation that this was not to be considered as clearance or non-clearance by the Office of Security, Department of State.

On August 1, 1962, SA [REDACTED] reviewed a reference to the appointee at the library, "Evening Star", but noted no additional information regarding him. b7c

Confidential informants who are familiar with certain phases of Communist Party activities in the Washington, D. C. Metropolitan area were contacted and advised that the appointee is unknown to them.

On July 31, 1962, the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities were reviewed by IC [REDACTED] and the following references were noted:

HENRY COMMAGER

Petition to President KENNEDY to pardon JUNIUS SCALES, drawn up and circulated by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Signer

Thomas' Press Release, April 5, 1962 - including Petition and copy of April 3, 1962, letter to President.
(Filed: Ind./SCALES, JUNIUS) Attorney

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HENRY S. COMMAGER (Professor)

Among list of signers of letter asking for support in petitioning President KENNEDY to pardon FRANK WILKINSON and CARL BRADEN.

Letter attached to "A Petition for..."
June 12, 1961 (Filed: Ind./BRADEN, CARL)

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER (Professor)

Petition to 87th Congress to eliminate the HCUA as a standing committee.

Signer

Washington Post Ad "Petition to the House" January 2, 1961 (Filed: Com./Complaints - Abolition)

History

Massachusetts

The United States Court of Appeals, Fourth District, Richmond, Virginia, rendered a decision October 6, 1958, upholding the conviction of JUNIUS SCALES, rendered February 21, 1958, by the U. S. District Court at Greensboro, North Carolina. SCALES was convicted for violation of the Membership Provisions of the Smith Act of 1950 and sentenced to six years in the Federal Penitentiary on February 21, 1958, by the U. S. District Court at Greensboro.

On June 5, 1961, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the U. S. Court of Appeals, Fourth District decision.

On page A-13 of "Evening Star", Washington, D. C. newspaper, dated Tuesday, July 25, 1961, was a newspaper story that the Alexandria Federal Court had denied a request for a reduction of the six year jail term of JUNIUS SCALES. The article stated that SCALES' attorney had argued that the reduction in sentence was warranted because SCALES had severed his connection with the Communist Party in 1957 and the six year jail term would harm his family. Department of Justice attorney told the court, however, that SCALES has declined to cooperate with the FBI and has maintained his Communist Party

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contacts. The attorney also told as recently as June that SCALES had met for an hour and a half in New York with a party official.

In an article in the "Worker", dated February 8, 1959, on page three, was a story that CARL BRADEN and FRANK WILKENSON had been each sentenced to one year in prison for contempt of the House of Un-American Activities Committee. ✓ BRADEN was described as the field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund and WILKENSON as the secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom.

1961 An article on page three of the "National Guardian", dated May 16, 1951, was captioned "BRADEN and WILKENSON Begin Serving Sentences". This article related CARL BRADEN and FRANK WILKENSON had surrendered to the U. S. Marshall in Atlanta, Georgia, May 1, to begin serving one year sentences for contempt of congress. WILKENSON was named in this article as field representative of the National Committee to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The February 27, 1961, edition of the "Evening Star", on page A-9 carried a story that the U. S. Supreme Court had upheld the conviction of CARL BRADEN and FRANK WILKENSON who were sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to answer question put by an Un-American Activities Sub-committee in Atlanta on July 30, 1958. The article stated the Sub-committee at the time was investigating Communist Party propaganda in the South and foreign Communist Party propaganda in the United States.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party (CP) activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 15, 1961, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, CP members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the CP on certain issues, particularly on the racial question, and through the years, certain CP members in the New Orleans area have been assigned to work in the organization to further CP principles.

On May 15, 1961, the source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual CP member, because he followed communist principles.

The source also advised on May 15, 1961, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

Another source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a CP functionary, stated at a meeting of the CP in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the CP is not connected with any progressive movement, but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, states "that the Communist Party's front operations in the Southern California District today are * * * confined to four major organizations, which include the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

" The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

" When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

" At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly Communist

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rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee.

" National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities. Cited as a "new organization" set up in the summer of 1960 "to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign." Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists."

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" also had a reference to FRANK WILKENSON who was called as a witness before the Sub-Committee in Atlanta when he appeared as a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Concerning the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the "Guide" stated "disputing the non-Communist claim of the organization, the committee finds that a number of other individuals connected with the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee also have been identified under oath as Communists".

The "Guide" also quotes from the Internal Security Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "Handbook for Americans", S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, page 91, as follows:

" To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection."

The Communist Party has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ALBANY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/6/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/3-6/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY bmc
		CHARACTER OF CASE	SPECIAL INQUIRY

REFERENCE:

Omaha teletype to the Director dated 8/2/62.
 New York teletype to the Director dated 8/3/62.

- R U C -

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

It is noted that an attempt was made to locate [REDACTED] on 8/3/62 and b7c
 it was determined that he was out of town, unavailable for contact, and would not return until 8/6/62.

- A* -

COVER PAGE

APPROVED <i>MFH</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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		NOT RECORDED 1C AUG 8 1962	
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<i>SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED E.O. 14176 FBI - ALBANY</i>			

(69)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c
Date: August 6, 1962

Office: Albany, New York

Field Office File No.: 161-360

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Former acquaintance of COMMAGER advised that he attended one meeting in 1945-46 with HENRY STEELE COMMAGER who then resided in Rye, New York, and was Professor of History at NYU of the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, at which meeting both acquaintance and COMMAGER joined Westchester County Chapter of this organization. Acquaintance advised COMMAGER had suggested attendance to learn more about current affairs and foreign policy, but declined to become chairman at meeting. Acquaintance stated COMMAGER subsequently commented that he realized meeting of this organization was "rigged" and he had been made a "sucker" at the meeting. Acquaintance stated he did not know COMMAGER well enough to comment further concerning either his character or loyalty, but that he had a good reputation in the community. Investigation Williamsville, Vt., site of summer home of WILLIAM STEELE COMMAGER, reflects daughter & son-in-law presently occupying summer residence. No credit or criminal record located.

- R U C -

DETAILS:

[REDACTED] who resides at [REDACTED] b7

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[REDACTED] advised on August 6, 1962,
at his place of employment.

[REDACTED] that he was acquainted
with HENRY STEELE COMMAGER in about 1945 to 1946 when COMMAGER
and his wife resided in Rye, New York [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised
that during this time [REDACTED] had suggested
that she would like to know more about foreign and political
affairs and current events and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He stated that this meeting was subsequently
determined to be a meeting of the Westchester County Chapter
of the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences,
and Professions.

A characterization of the Independent Citizens
Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions is attached
hereto in the Appendix.

At this initial meeting of this organization, the
leaders of the group suggested that money must be obtained
to run the organization and they suggested that each person
pay \$3.00 per year dues.

He stated also at this meeting they suggested that
the group must have some organization and they requested
COMMAGER to become chairman. He stated that COMMAGER
declined the invitation as best he recalls and stated that
he desired to participate only as an interested party.

He stated that COMMAGER who was then Professor of History

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at New York University subsequently stated that he believed the meeting had been "rigged" and that he had been made a "sucker" at the meeting because telegrams of protest which were directed to unrecalled individuals had already been made up and were passed without discussion and without any suggestion as to the wording of the contents.

[redacted] stated that he had attended no other meetings and that COMMAGER in the discussion subsequently stated that he believed they were hooked for one year since they had paid their money, but that he was having nothing further to do with the organization. b7c

[redacted] advised that he knew COMMAGER and his wife only slightly and did not know them well enough to comment any further concerning their character or loyalty to the United States although he knew of nothing derogatory concerning them and he could only say that they were persons of excellent reputation in the community of Rye, New York, at that time.

1

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JH:bal

The following investigation was conducted by
SA [REDACTED] b7c

AT WILLIAMSVILLE, VERMONT

[REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] on August 3, 1962
stated he has known Dr. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER and his
daughters, NELLIE and ELIZABETH, for the past twenty years
as summer residents at Williamsville. He stated the
entire family have an excellent reputation in that
community, and that NELLIE, who is now Mrs. CHRISTOPHER
LASCH, and her husband are presently occupying the
COMMAGER summer residence. He said Mr. and Mrs. COMMAGER
are reportedly in England.

[REDACTED] b7c

Credit and Criminal

[REDACTED] Credit Bureau of Brattleboro,
4 Chapin Street, Brattleboro, Vermont, on August 3, 1962
advised that Dr. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER of Rye, New York
and Williamsville, Vermont has been in the files of that
bureau since August 22, 1950. He stated there is no
credit rating on Dr. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER or his wife,
ELIZABETH, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
He stated "Life" magazine dated September 1,
1952 indicates that Dr. COMMAGER is a former faculty
member of Columbia University and a prolific writer and
author on Civil War and World War II.

News article dated July 11, 1952 reflects Dr.
COMMAGER flew to London, England to conduct courses and
lecture at Cambridge University.

News article dated June 6, 1962 reflects Mrs. ELIZABETH COMMAGER and daughters, NELLIE and ELIZABETH, went to Switzerland, where NELLIE was to study at the University of Lausanne.

ELIZABETH CARROLL COMMAGER *ELIZABETH COMMAGER*
News clipping dated March 29, 1962 reflects ELIZABETH CAROL COMMAGER to be married to ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER, III of Hartford, Connecticut in early summer of 1962. Clipping indicated ELIZABETH would be a graduate of Radcliffe College as of June 1962.

News clipping dated July 2, 1956 indicated that NELLIE COMMAGER, daughter of Dr. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER and Mrs. ELIZABETH COMMAGER, was married at summer home in Williamsville, Vermont to CHRISTOPHER LASCH, son of ROBERT LASCH, editorial writer for "St. Louis Post Dispatch," St. Louis, Missouri. Mother of CHRISTOPHER LASCH was indicated as a member of faculty, Washington, University, St. Louis, Missouri. NELLIE, according to this article, attended Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University, London, England, Swarthmore College and graduated June 1956 from Barnard College, New York City. CHRISTOPHER LASCH, according to this article, graduated in June 1954 from Harvard University and as of June 1956 was at Columbia University.

Credit Bureau of Brattleboro covers the entire county of Windham, which includes Williamsville, Vermont.

[REDACTED] Vermont State Police, Brattleboro, Vermont, on August 3, 1962 advised she could locate no record in the criminal or motor vehicle files identifiable with HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. [REDACTED]

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A P P E N D I X

INDEPENDENT CITIZENS COMMITTEE
OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

The Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, was cited by House Committee on Un-American Activities Guide to Subversive Organizations and is characterized as a Communist front that grew out of the Independent Voters Committee on Arts and Sciences (California Committee On Un-American Activities).

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BOSTON	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/7/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/27 - 8/6/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY bar
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Baltimore dated 7/24/62.
 Bureau teletype to Baltimore, cc Boston,
 dated July 27, 1962.
 Boston teletype to New York and Omaha, 8/1/62.
 New York teletype to Boston, 8/2/62.
 Boston teletype to Bureau, 8/3/62.

- RUC -

INFORMANTS:

Boston informants referred to are:

[REDACTED]
b2
b7D

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE:		161	2126	25
1- Bureau 1- Boston (161-856)		REC-38		
		NOT RECORDED		
		9 AUG 21 1962		
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT				
NOTATIONS				

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c
Date: 8/7/62

Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Field Office File No.: 161-856

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Employment verified and favorable. Other historians, associates, colleagues, and professors recommend. appointee re ability, character, loyalty, and general standing. Results of credit, arrest and newspaper morgue checks set out. Appointee and members of his family unknown to some Boston informants familiar with some phases of communist activity in Massachusetts.

- RUC -

DETAILS:

Investigation at Amherst and Northampton, Massachusetts was conducted by SA [REDACTED] in Rhode Island by SA [REDACTED] at Andover, Massachusetts by SA [REDACTED] and credit and arrest record checks at Boston were made at the request of Investigative Clerk [REDACTED]

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TFS:ras

EMPLOYMENT

[REDACTED] b7c
Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, advised on July 31, 1962 that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER came to Amherst College in July, 1956 as Professor of American History and American Studies. She stated he has been with the college continuously since that date and said that according to records, he was born October 25, 1902 and received degrees from the University of Chicago, A. B., 1923; A. M., 1924; and Ph.D., 1928. She stated he attended the University of Copenhagen during 1924-1925.

Professor COMMAGER, she stated, had previously been employed by New York University from 1926 through 1928 and by Columbia University from 1939 through 1956. Since his arrival at Amherst, Massachusetts, he has resided at 405 South Pleasant Street, Amherst. He and his wife, EVAN COMMAGER, have three children; HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, JR., born 1932, who is presently an Assistant Professor of Greek at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; NELLIE COMMAGER LASH, born 1934, whose husband is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa; and ELIZABETH COMMAGER ANGIER, whose husband, ROSWELL ANGIER, is a graduate student at Harvard University.

[REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] advised that all information pertaining to Professor COMMAGER in the files of that office is of a favorable nature and that based on her personal acquaintance and association with him since 1956, she would highly recommend his character, loyalty, and associates.

[REDACTED] b7c
Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, advised on July 31, 1962 that he has been closely associated with Professor COMMAGER since his arrival there in 1956. He stated he knows him to be one of the foremost historians in the country and, in addition, a person of exceptional character and integrity. [REDACTED] stated he believes Professor COMMAGER to be completely loyal to the United States and would have no question concerning his associates.

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JEB:fha

PW N

67C

On July 30, 1962, [REDACTED] Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, advised Professor HENRY STEELE COMMAGER served as Ziskind Professor of History at this University for the academic year beginning in 1955. [REDACTED] stated the appointee has been a visiting Professor at Brandeis several times since 1948. When he was a Professor at Columbia University, New York. [REDACTED] said he has known Professor COMMAGER since 1948. He said Professor COMMAGER is one of the ablest men to have taught here. He said the appointee has very original ideas and is one of the most stimulating personalities to have taught at Brandeis. He said the University has been enriched by his teaching. He said the appointee is one of the country's outstanding historians. He said his brilliant writings have been mainly in regard to American civilization.

He said the appointee is (completely) loyal to the United States and is highly regarded among historians throughout the country. [REDACTED] recommended the appointee highly for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

[REDACTED] said the appointee was awarded an honorary LL.D degree by Brandeis University in 1960.

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] Brandeis University, advised he has known Professor COMMAGER since the 1940's. He said that during the 1940's he was a graduate student at Columbia University where he was a [REDACTED] to Professor COMMAGER and a [REDACTED] at the University. He said that since that time he has maintained a close friendship with the appointee. He said they correspond regularly and are in occasional personal contact. He said Professor COMMAGER is a person of excellent character who is regarded by historians and students of history in American colleges and universities as one of the greatest historians of our time. He said the appointee is completely loyal to the United States and he recommended him without qualification for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] Brandeis University, advised he has known the appointee for ten years and has served on the faculty of Brandeis University when the appointee was Ziskind Professor of History at Brandeis and on other occasions when the appointee was visiting Professor at Brandeis. He said the appointee is a man of fine personal qualities, a distinguished

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JEB:fha

teacher who has the reputation of being one of the outstanding historians of the country. He said the appointee's loyalty to the United States is unquestionable and he recommended him highly for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

On July 30, 1962, [REDACTED] Boston University, 755 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, advised the records of her office disclosed Professor HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was Bacon Lecturer at this university in 1940, at which time he lectured on "The Nationalism of Joseph Story". [REDACTED] said she was not with the university at the time and knew of no one presently at the university who was on the faculty at that time. 67c

On July 31, 1962, [REDACTED] of the History Department, Boston University, advised he was not a member of the faculty at this university when the appointee lectured here. He said he is not personally acquainted with the appointee but the appointee's distinguished achievements in the field of History is well known to all students of history. He said the appointee is regarded as an extremely learned and capable teacher who is one of the three or four leading historians of America. He said he considered the appointee well qualified for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED] Department of Government, Boston University, advised he is not personally acquainted with the appointee but is familiar with the appointee's reputation as an outstanding teacher and historian. He said that based upon his knowledge of the appointee's reputation he would consider him well qualified for appointment to a position of responsibility with the United States Government.

On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED] Emeritus, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he has known the appointee for almost forty years. He said he considers the appointee a person of excellent character, a brilliant scholar and teacher and an outstanding historian. He said he is familiar with the appointee's various writings which pertain mainly to the History of the United States. He said the appointee was a member of the faculty of Columbia University for many years and of his own choice decided to take his present post at Amherst College. [REDACTED] said he had no

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hesitation whatsoever in recommending the appointee for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

[REDACTED] b7c
On August 1, 1962, [REDACTED]
Emeritus, Harvard University and [REDACTED]
residence: [REDACTED]
was interviewed by Special Agent [REDACTED] at his summer
residence at [REDACTED] said
he has known the appointee since 1928 when the appointee was at
New York University.

[REDACTED] b7c
He said the appointee has been a visiting Professor at many colleges in the United States and has taught at Cambridge and Oxford Universities in England. He said the appointee, a man of excellent personal qualities, is regarded as an outstanding historian who has worked well with all individuals in his various projects. He said the appointee is a person of unusual capability. He said the appointee served in the Office of Strategic Services in World War II and is unquestionably loyal to the United States. [REDACTED] recommended the appointee highly for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

On July 30, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 77 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass., advised SA [REDACTED] that he was not personally acquainted with Professor HENRY STEELE COMMAGER but that his professional reputation as a historian was outstanding, and that he had never heard anything concerning him which would cause him to question his personal integrity or loyalty.

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On August 2, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
of the Department of Politics, [REDACTED] University,
Waltham, Massachusetts, advised he has known the appointee
casually for many years and has followed his writings
for about twenty years. [REDACTED] A said he has come to know
the appointee more closely since he came to Massachusetts
and has had some social contact with him. [REDACTED] said
the appointee is a person of integrity, a man of unusual
ability who is a distinguished historian and writer.
He said the appointee is a loyal citizen of the United
States and he recommended him highly for a position of trust
and confidence with the United States Government.

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HONORARY DEGREE

On August 2, 1962, Mrs. [REDACTED] Rhode Island College, Mt. Pleasant Avenue, Providence, R.I., (formerly known as Rhode Island College of Education), advised that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Education degree at the College Commencement on June 15, 1955.

b7c
She stated, after making inquiry, that this award was made on an impersonal basis by a Faculty Committee and that COMMAGER was not personally known to any of the Faculty Honorary Degree Committee. The following is a copy of the citation:

"HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Scholar, Educator, Author, Editor, Historian

"Thrice honored by being chosen as Pitt Professor of History at Cambridge University; Harnsworth Professor of History at Oxford University; Gottesman Professor at Uppsala University. Currently Professor of History at Columbia University.

"Distinguished writer, who, as an historian, addresses himself valiantly to the mind and character of the American people; who, as a creator and editor of children's books, experiences anew the wide-eyed wonder and whimsy of our youngest citizens.

"A teacher whom teachers delight to honor because of the impressive depth and breadth of your learning; because of your provocative enthusiasm for your subject; and because of your keen criticism of intellectual pretense.

"Professor Commager, it is with a deep sense that in honoring you we honor a gifted teacher, a versatile writer, a perceptive and sympathetic historian. By authority vested in me and by concurrent action of the Board of Trustees and the Faculty of Rhode Island College of Education, I confer upon you the degree of Doctor of Education with all the rights, benefits, and privileges pertaining thereto; and in token thereof, I present you this diploma and cause you to be invested with the regalia of this degree.

June 18, 1955

President"

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

- (b)(1)
 (b)(2)
 (b)(3)

 (b)(4)
 (b)(5)
 (b)(6)

- (b)(7)(A)
 (b)(7)(B)
 (b)(7)(C)

 (b)(7)(D)
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 (b)(7)(F)

- (b)(8)
 (b)(9)

- (d)(5)
 (j)(2)
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 (k)(7)

- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
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161-2126-25-pg. 8

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
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TFS:CAK

ASSOCIATES

[REDACTED] Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, on August 2, 1962, stated he has known Professor HENRY COMMAGER for the past four years and would favorably recommend his character and loyalty for any sort of sensitive position with the United States Government.

[REDACTED] of Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, on August 2, 1962, stated he has been closely associated with Professor HENRY COMMAGER since 1956 and is very favorably impressed with his character and loyalty to the United States Government. He stated he knows that Professor COMMAGER is opinionated and outspoken concerning his views on many matters but he would have no reservations whatever in recommending him for employment or appointment by the United States Government.

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TFS:po'b:rar

[REDACTED] Amherst College,
Amherst, Massachusetts, advised on August 1, 1962 that he has
[REDACTED] associated with Professor
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER since 1956 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] he knows Professor COMMAGER to be a person of outstanding intelligence with a tremendous sense of History. He said he is also a person of absolute honesty who could never take advantage of his prominence or position for personal reasons. He considered Professor COMMAGER a liberal who has no sympathy for leftist causes and is a person intensely loyal to the government of the United States.

[REDACTED] said he would favorably recommend the appointee for employment with the United States Government.

[REDACTED] Phillips Academy,
Andover, Massachusetts, advised on August 6, 1962, that he was acquainted with HENRY STEELE COMMANGER from approximately 1943 to 1945 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
He stated that he met Mr. COMMANGER at meetings during this period of time, and his association with Mr. COMMANGER was restricted to these activities. [REDACTED] does not believe he has seen Mr. COMMANGER since 1945, however, if he has, it has been only a casual meeting. He believes that after the war, COMMANGER went back to Columbia University and back to Amherst College where he is presently located. [REDACTED] advised he did not know any members of COMMANGER's family. From his observation of COMMANGER, he considered him to be a person of good character and morals and knows of nothing that would reflect in a derogatory manner on his loyalty.

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TFS:po'b

CREDIT

[REDACTED] Credit Bureau, Inc., Northampton, Massachusetts, which office maintains credit information concerning residents of Amherst, Massachusetts, advised on August 1, 1962 that all information contained in the files of that office concerning Professor HENRY STEELE COMMAGER and his wife, EVAN COMMAGER, of 405 South Pleasant Street, Amherst, was favorable. [REDACTED] b7c

On July 31, 1962, personnel of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Inc., 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, which covers Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised the files of this bureau disclosed HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, 405 Pleasant Street, Amherst, Massachusetts, a Professor of History at Amherst College, and his wife, EVAN C., have a favorable credit record.

The record stated in part:

"A historian of national renown, subject has served on the faculty of outstanding colleges both in this country and abroad. He enjoys the highest reputation both in his field and in the community."

[REDACTED]

b7c

BS 161-856
TFS:lc

ARREST

Sgt. [REDACTED] Police Department, Amherst, Massachusetts, advised on August 1, 1962 that he could locate no arrest record in the files of that department identifiable with HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. b7c

✓ [REDACTED] Probation Department, Hampshire County District Court, Northampton, Massachusetts, advised on August 1, 1962 that he could locate no record of arrest which he could identify with HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. [REDACTED]

✓ On July 31, 1962, personnel of the Boston, Massachusetts Police Department, Boston, Massachusetts, advised the files of this department contained no record identifiable with the appointee [REDACTED]

✓ On August 1, 1962, personnel of the Office of the Massachusetts Commissioner of Probation, Suffolk County Courthouse, Boston, Massachusetts, a central repository for criminal conviction records in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, advised the files of this office contained no record identifiable with the appointee [REDACTED]

NEWSPAPER MORGUES

On July 31, 1962, the files of the "Hampshire Gazette" and the "Springfield Union" newspapers published at Northampton and Springfield, Massachusetts respectively, were reviewed and found to contain no pertinent information.

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JEB:CAK

MISCELLANEOUS

The "Christian Science Monitor," in its issue of February 11, 1958, carried an article entitled, "Bay State Red Hunt Opposed." The article read as follows:

"A group of 29 New England college professors--among them some of the most noted names in American education--last night urged the Massachusetts Legislature not to renew the mandate of the state Commission on Communism and Subversive Activities.

"The professors submitted to the state lawmakers a five-point statement, setting forth the following reasons for letting the controversial Communist-hunting body lapse:

Confidential
"The American Communist Party is, if anything, attacking the federal government of the United States, not the government of Massachusetts. 'Nobody is going to overthrow the government of Massachusetts by force.' The agents, exponents, followers, or apologists for world communism can hardly be expected to have made the Bay State or its government a major objective.

"If, for some reason, the Communists did, the professors statement implies, 'there are abundant acts of Congress dealing with communism and subversive activities' and the Federal Bureau of Investigation is competent to deal with and 'detect any disturbing conditions in Massachusetts.'

"The United States Supreme Court has 'held that the states cannot legislate in the field of subversive activity because this would conflict with existing federal laws.' For this reason, the 29 professors say, the Legislature can have no justification for continuing the commission on communism, since the Supreme Court's ruling in the Watkins case implies that legislative bodies 'cannot expose solely for the sake of exposure'--but may expose only in the course of making laws.

"The subversive-hunting commission 'has been in existence for four and a half years and has expended considerably more than one hundred thousand

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JEB:CAK

"'dollars of public funds already. . . It has uncovered no new facts in the past and is unlikely to discover anything new in the future.'

"The professors' statement says that the commission has 'again filed a report listing the names of additional supposed "subversives"', but avers that it has made no recommendations for action or legislation except that its existence as a commission be continued.

"'Judgment is pronounced on individuals outside the courts and in flagrant violation of constitutional provisions,' the statement adds, when the commission lists names of persons adjudged by its staff and members to be 'subversives.'

"Investigative probes of this kind 'cannot be conducted so as to give adequate protection to the interests of the individuals involved.'

"The professors elaborate on this point by saying that only when benefits gained outweigh injuries to individuals should this kind of investigation be undertaken. But they conclude decisively that: 'An extension of this commission will result in nothing but further expenditure of funds and litigation.'

Among the names of the signers was listed "HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Columbia University and Amherst College."

During July, 1962 Boston informants, who are familiar with some phases of communist activity in Massachusetts, advised HENRY STEELE COMMAGER [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] unknown to them and they could provide no information

FBI

Date: 8/8/62

6D

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1788) (P)
 HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
 SPI

Rerep of SA [REDACTED] dated 8/6/62.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of an article by the appointee, captioned, "Russia Could Win The Next War." This article appeared in the October, 1946, issue of "Magazine Digest," and a copy was in appointee's file at the Security Office, USDS.

On 8/7/62, U. S. Senators [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that they do not know the appointee and therefore, have no comment to make concerning him.

[REDACTED] Passport, CIA, and CSC outstanding and being followed.

ENCLOSURE

ATTACHED
ENCLOSURE
Bureau (Encs 3)
1 - WFO

LSM:kjy
(4)

2 copies 8/12/62
[REDACTED]

9B

161-2126-26

NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

AIRTEL

2cc [REDACTED]
9/12/62
-8/6/62

9B

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

ENCLOSURES TO
BUREAU (3)

Three copies of "Russia Could Win
The Next War."

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

SPI

CIO file 161-1788

Wire tel dated 8/8/62

copies destroyed

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

161-2126-210

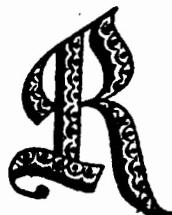
Meant to be kept

10c

Peace and friendship with Russia are still possible.
War with Russia may be fatal—for us.

R U S S I A could win the next war

By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER



USSIA and America are inevitably heading toward war. The average American accepts this as a fact. He knows that something seems to be drawing the two countries toward an eventual collision. Yet he does not understand what it is or why this should be so.

This article seeks, first, to explain the physical factors responsible for the clash now shaping up; next, to outline the arguments used to justify or conceal the crucial moves; and, finally, to appraise the real facts—and the real effects—of the actions being taken by both countries.

We will try to show the probable outcome of such a war and the reasons why it may be won by Russia.

Also, this article will discuss what steps can be taken to avoid

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, one of America's eminent historians, is professor of history at Columbia University. He is associate editor of *American Scholar*, contributing editor to *Scholastic Magazine*, and author of several books on American history.

war, and will suggest two alternatives which may delay or prevent a fatal showdown.

A glance at almost any day's news dispatches will show how the democratic and Soviet ideologies are clashing openly throughout the world. Many Americans are urging that we speed up our efforts to organize a western, democratic bloc as a counterpoise to the Russian bloc now in the process of formation.

This notion of two worlds, already insidiously supplanting the idea of One World which we cherished during the war, is too familiar to justify rehearsal or elaboration. It is sufficient to state the argument briefly.

THE
SOVIET
BLOC

Russia (so runs the argument), in defiance of the spirit and the letter of the United Nations, is zealously organizing a vast Eurasian bloc designed not for security but for aggression. This bloc already extends from the "iron curtain"

that reaches from Trieste to Stettin and eastward to the Kuriles.

Vast as this is, the Soviet is not content, but is working ceaselessly to expand it. Eventually, if Russian plans are successful, it will embrace parts of Africa, Iran, and Iraq, perhaps the northern provinces of India, and large areas—maybe even the whole—of China.

Then, with one-third of the land area of the world, and half its population, under her control, Russia will be in a position to advance westward towards the Atlantic, to organize Latin America, to penetrate into Japan, to surround Britain and the United States with a communist ring and force them into her orbit of influence.

This is the nightmare that keeps men like ex-Ambassador Bullitt awake nights and that troubles the dreams of even so judicious an observer as Mr. Walter Lippmann. For no one nation, it is clear, can halt the Soviet advance or dissuade her from aggression.

The only effective answer to the Soviet bloc is an Anglo-American democratic bloc. Now, before it is too late—so we are told—we must organize such a bloc. At present we have the atomic bomb, naval and air superiority, the world's best industrial plants and the most skillful techniques, the prestige of victory and of moral leadership. We must use them to integrate all democratic, all freedom-loving countries into one great and formidable system.

THE COUNTER BLOC

Just which countries are to be included in this western bloc is not entirely clear. The core of the bloc is obviously the English-speaking peoples: the United

States, Britain, and her Dominions. Western Europe must be included, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and possibly the Iberian Peninsula. Latin America will have to come in on the tail of the American kite. Perhaps Japan can be democratized, and with Nationalist China can be made a barrier against Russian expansion in the Orient.

Some blueprints are more detailed than others. Mr. Bullitt, for example, proposed a series of leagues, or federations—a League of American Democracies, a League of European Democracies, a League of World Democracies, all supported by the might and resources of the United States. We should, he submits, undertake at once to organize such a series of democratic leagues, guarantee the safety of each nation while it is in process of joining such a league, supply all these nations with economic necessities and with arms, and then present to the astounded Russians a *fait accompli*.

Others, somewhat more realistic, would count only on the English-speaking peoples and hope that wise councils and enlightened policies would gradually attract other nations.

A great many things might, and should, be said about such a program of world blocs and about the role marked out for us in that program. It might be said that the scheme itself is dangerous and immoral, that it is based on a theory of the necessity of war rather than the necessity of peace, and that, in the end, it can lead only to a world war.

It might be said that, given the conditions of modern scientific warfare, a democratic bloc could have no greater security than a communist—that all the allies which we could possibly enlist could still afford no protection for Britain against rocket-propelled atomic bombs or for the United States against attack from the Arctic.

Any scheme, it might be argued, which flouts or circumvents the United Nations is recklessly destroying the one foundation upon which it is possible to rear any lasting structure of world peace.

The bloc system, it might be said, is nothing but a new version of the old balance of power, that we have always regarded the balance of power method as wrong and dangerous, and that we are not now equipped, either politically or physchologically, to manipulate it.

**WILL
IT
WORK?**

These and other objections can legitimately be raised to the proposal for dividing the world into two alien

blocs. But they are all, as it were, antecedent objections. A preliminary objection takes precedence over all of them. It is this: while Russia can, in all likelihood, create her bloc, there is no reason to suppose that Britain and the United States together could cement an effective counter-bloc.

Before discussing the consequences of bloc-politics, then, let us inquire whether it is possible to have them.

It is difficult for any outsider to determine whether the Soviet really plans to create a worldwide (rather than merely a Central European) bloc or whether, if she does so plan, she can hope to succeed.

There is little doubt that she is successfully creating a Middle European bloc. Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania are already safely within the orbit of Russian control. Hungary and Czechoslovakia lean towards co-operation and could probably, with proper inducement, be persuaded to join a Russian bloc. Finland is not a free agent. Greece might well be swept within the Russian orbit once British power is withdrawn.

Northern Iran has already been detached from Anglo-American influence, and segments of Turkey and Afghanistan might easily be incorporated into Greater Russia. Far to the east, the Soviet controls outer Mongolia and Hsinkiang, while Communists dominate Manchuria. With sufficient pressure,

Korea would probably fall into the Russian sphere of influence.

Even if the Russians did not go beyond this, the line-up is a formidable one. If they feel threatened by the organization of an anti-Russian bloc, the most elementary considerations of security will induce them to go beyond this.

Invasion and conquest need not be contemplated. It would be sufficient to foment internal discord, to support Communists in Greece, India, China, and Japan, to encourage the establishment of friendly governments in these states, to bargain for special economic privileges, such as those she has already obtained in Manchuria, and to fan the flames of hostility against the British, French, Dutch, and Americans throughout the Orient.

That the Soviet can successfully organize a communist bloc, then, seems highly probable. Is there any reason to suppose that the United States and Britain could be equally successful in organizing a democratic anti-Russian bloc, or, if they were able to organize it, that they could maintain it?

If such a bloc were to be organized, the United States would have to take the lead—formulate the politics, supply the economic and military sinews. In fact, the whole question of a democratic bloc reduces itself to a question of the determination, the competence, and the strength of the United States.

WHOM CAN WE COUNT ON?

First, which nations could be counted on with absolute assurance? Could Britain? Probably so. Mr. Bevin certainly seems to be co-operating with Mr.

Byrnes in all matters of importance. Yet even with respect to British-American unity, certain awkward questions intrude themselves. For instance, it is relevant to recall that it required six months of acrimonious debate to wring from Congress a modest loan to Britain and that in the course of the debate Britain was denounced with a vehemence usually reserved for Russia. Almost every newspaper carries full-page advertisements denouncing the British as despots and murderers for their Palestine policy. The large, and politically powerful, Irish element would look askance at an alliance with Britain, though their dislike of irreligious communism is probably more intense than their dislike of the British.

Liberals and conservatives alike denounce British imperialism and urge the disintegration of that Empire whose integrity would seem essential for the creation and maintenance of a world-wide bloc. Whatever the balance of public opinion, it is clear that every step the United States would, of necessity, take to strengthen Britain would be denounced as an effort to pull British chestnuts out of the

fire. The whole program of Anglo-American co-operation would be under continuous threat of derangement.

But let us concede to the western bloc of Britain and even the Dominions. Where do we go from there? Would France join our bloc? Her support would be essential, and those who indulge their imagination in constructing the democratic bloc count on her with assurance. Yet French support is a dubious matter.

The Communist Party is the second largest in France, and there is no sign that it is weakening. Communists occupy strategic posts in the present government and, according to Joseph Alsop, are installed in key positions in French industry. Britain is less unpopular in France than the United States, but by no stretch of the imagination can either be called popular. If Russia espouses a strong Germany, France will inevitably gravitate to Britain and the United States, but the French fear American imperialism only less than Russian.

French support would probably be opportunist rather than fundamental and persistent. Why should it be otherwise? In 1919 Wilson wrung concessions from Clemenceau with the promise of an Anglo-American guarantee of French security; he did not even think it worth-while to send that treaty to the Senate. Again, in 1939, when France was in mortal danger, the United States was unable to come to her aid. Could

France be expected to expose herself to Russian attack on the assurance of support from America and Britain?

What is true of France is equally true of Italy. Here, again, the Communist Party is the second largest, and the prolongation of hard times may play into Communist hands. For the decision against Italian claims to Trieste, and for territorial cessions to France, the United States and Britain are blamed as much as Russia. Moreover, British control of Italy's African colonies is a source of chagrin and of potential hostility.

It should not be forgotten that it was the British and American armies that invaded and over-ran Italy. However dangerous Russia may appear, the British and the Americans are considered the conquerors, the invaders, and the destroyers.

What of the smaller European countries? It would be the height of folly to suppose that any of them would dare risk war with Russia for the dubious benefits of alliance with the United States. Finland certainly would not. Sweden, for all her sympathy with Finland, did not dare go to her aid in 1939. Norway will not even risk an invitation to Mr. Churchill. Denmark has not forgotten the Russian occupation of Bornholm, nor can she ignore the fact that its reoccupation would be fatally easy.

If Germany is to remain weak, her accession to the democratic

bloc will be unimportant; if she is to become strong, it will be through Russian aid. If Germany should remain broken and impotent, and if France comes into the western bloc, we may count on the support of the Low Countries — otherwise not. The vulnerability of Czechoslovakia and Austria to Russian attack is too obvious to argue.

We are left with Spain and Portugal, and their accession to a democratic bloc would so stultify that bloc that it would fall apart.

THE PUZZLE OF LATIN AMERICA

Can we count on Latin America to support us in an anti-Russian organization? Mr. Rivera says not, but it is doubtful if he speaks with authority. Yet no one familiar with the growth of communism in Cuba, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, and Paraguay; no one who has followed the tortuous meanderings of our State Department in its dealings with the Argentine; no one who knows the long history of Yankee-phobia in Latin America, can suppose that the states south of the Rio Grande would gravitate to the American bloc without hesitation.

Even with widespread support in Latin America, we were unable to impose our will on the Argentine during the war against Germany. Is there reason to suppose we would be more successful in a

new campaign? The Latin-American states, traditionally susceptible to dictatorships, seem likely to swing either to the far right or the far left, either to fascism or to communism — always of a Latin American variety, to be sure. A swing in either direction would present serious embarrassments to the leader of a democratic bloc.

In the Orient, the situation is even less encouraging.

Even if we should succeed in democratizing Japan, are we prepared to include her in our democratic bloc? She would prove a weak link in our chain.

We are actively aiding the Nationalist Government of China in its somewhat wobbly attempt to put down, or restrain, the Communists of the North. Our policy has earned us the distrust of the Chinese Communists, but there is as yet little evidence that it has gained us the gratitude or support of the Nationalists. Indeed, throughout the Orient, the Americans—and especially the British—seem as deeply distrusted as the Russians.

WHAT HAVE WE TO OFFER?

Have we, indeed, anything to offer the Oriental peoples, in competition with what the Soviet has to offer, or seems to offer? We would do well to keep in mind, in any long-range plans that we consider, that the Chinese, Indians,

Burmese, Siamese, and Indonesians have not forgotten that for a century they were exploited by the western powers.

Czarist Russia, to be sure, engaged in this exploitation, and the United States did not, except casually and opportunistically. But Russia is no longer Czarist, and the communist doctrines of racial equality and of the emancipation of the poor and the underprivileged have an appeal that we have so far been unable to match.

Wherever the western peoples have gone in the Orient, they have flaunted their racial superiority. They have insisted on special prerogatives, on economic concessions, on the subordination of native to Western interests. What Vera M. Dean has recently said of the situation in the Balkans applies with even greater force to the situation in the Far East:

"Whenever we are inclined to be critical of Russia's methods in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, we must remember that we and the British, in the heyday of our power in that area, showed little or no interest in the welfare of the native peoples, and were concerned primarily with the short-term advantages to be gained from investments in oil or other raw materials. The day of foreign investments that disregard the interest of local inhabitants has passed. From now on, the first test of investments must be: will they benefit the borrowing countries . ?"

It is worth noting that the British cling to Hong Kong (why don't the Russians get out of Iran?), that the French are having rough going in Indo-China, that the Indonesians are in revolt against Dutch rule, that Burma is restless under British control, and that Britain is now retiring from India. Can we count, with any definite assurance, on these countries to join our bloc against Russia?

In other words, where the Anglo-Americans try to get support by lining up the rulers of a country, the Russians get their support by lining up the people. In such a situation, it is conceivable that the ruling classes of a country might declare the country's adherence to the western bloc, but their help would be unreliable if the great mass of the people were pulling for the other side.

To formulate our basic foreign policy then, on the assumption that we can stop Russia by creating a world-wide democratic bloc against her without ascertaining first whether we can in fact create such a bloc, is not only folly, it is disaster.

A closer scrutiny of the problem would reveal other difficulties almost equally grave. THE MAIN QUESTION Granted the possibility that a world-wide federation of democracies can be

RUSSIA COULD WIN THE NEXT WAR

37

organized against Russia is the United States competent to undertake such a task? We have, theoretically, the power and resources to sustain such an organization; have we the intelligence or the will or even the purpose?

Are we prepared to return to a wartime basis—we who will not even tolerate full retention of price controls? Are we prepared to subsidize democracies everywhere—we who debate six months about lending three billion dollars (the cost of three days of war) to our closest associate? Will our democratic political system permit such regimentation of our economy and our society as would be required for the effort to create and maintain a world-wide federation of nations?

Are we sure, even, that we can maintain our present scientific superiority in view of the fact that Russia can commandeer all scientific talent to government-controlled research while we watch even the talent of the Manhattan project disintegrate?

We have long cultivated the habit of substituting talk for action in international affairs, and we have assumed that other nations would accept our talk at par value, as legal tender for acts. For almost a decade we scolded Nazi Germany and found, to our amazement, that the Germans did not take us seriously. Now we are engaged in scolding Russia, in threatening Russia with the bogey of a vast democratic bloc. If Russia takes us seriously, we'll

and good. If she does not, we may find ourselves in an embarrassing position.

We should avoid embarrassment. We are scarcely prepared to implement a policy looking to the formation of a democratic bloc, and there seems little

reason to believe, that such a policy would, in any event, be effective. So we would do well to consider what alternatives are open to us.

And three alternative policies at once suggest themselves.

The first of them is immediate war with Russia—war while we still have the secret of the atomic bomb and before Russia has completed her own security program. This is the policy recommended in a thousand Pullman car conversations, in a thousand country-club discussions. It can be dismissed as fantastic.

The two remaining alternatives merit serious consideration.

The first of these is to develop a long-range program which will command the support of democratic or near-democratic nations everywhere and bring them voluntarily to our support. Only those blinded to the realities of the world situation can suppose that this would be easy to accomplish. Its adoption would require a new foreign and domestic policy—a policy which treats "in-

ferior" peoples as equals, which abandons both economic and military imperialism, and which insists upon democracy and equality at home. It would mean that our foreign economic policy would be directed primarily to enhancing the welfare of backward peoples.

We are left, then, with the second practical alternative—to work out some method of getting along with Russia, to eliminate blocs—the Russian as well as our own. In view of Russia's present aggressive policies, this may seem difficult, but compared with the alternatives open to us it is reasonable and simple.

We shall have to recognize that as long as we control the atomic bomb and continue its manufacture, as long as we extend our own security zone into both oceans, as long as we talk loosely of war with Russia, the Soviet will continue her own search for

security, in her own way. Words will not stop her, moral disapproval will leave her cold, and the attempt to organize a counter-bloc will but drive her to new and more frantic efforts.

But if we can persuade Russia that she has nothing to fear from us, we can, perhaps, induce her to concentrate her energies on peace and reconstruction. If we can persuade her that democracy can compete, in the open market, with communism, we may drive her propagandistic energies to the domestic scene.

And if we can persuade her that we mean to stand by the United Nations, and that the Security Council and the Assembly are the proper instruments for the adjustment of grievances, the achievement of security, and the encouragement of world order, we may inspire both her and ourselves to labor for victory in peace as we worked for victory in war.



Trained to Obey

IN Arabia, shortly after colts are born, they are entrusted to a trainer who uses only a bugle to lead them to water, to food, and back to the corral. Never a word is spoken. All the training is done with a bugle.

After some months, this test is made. All the horses are locked up in the corral and are kept there fully four days without food and water. By the fourth day, those horses claw the fence and sides of walls, inflicting wounds upon themselves, as they smell a fresh-water breeze blowing from a near-by stream.

After four days, the bars are let down and the horses stampede toward the stream. Just then, the bugler sounds retreat. Those horses which, despite their terrific thirst, turn back into the corral are used for breeding purposes. They only are deemed worthy of perpetuating the fine strain of Arabian horses.

—CHAPLAIN PHILIP S. ALLEN in *Link*

8-8-62

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SACS, NEW HAVEN
BOSTON (161-856)
ALBANY (161-360)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI, BUDED: AUGUST SIX, ONE NINE SIX TWO

FOR INFORMATION NH, STATE DEPARTMENT REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF COMMAGER WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT. BORN OCTOBER TWENTY-FIVE, ONE NINE ZERO TWO, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA. RESIDES AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS. SEE WHO'S WHO FOR FURTHER BACKGROUND.

INVESTIGATION AL INDICATES DAUGHTER ELIZABETH WAS TO MARRY ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER III OF HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, IN EARLY SUMMER, ONE NINE SIX TWO. SHE REPORTEDLY GRADUATED FROM RADCLIFFE COLLEGE JUNE, ONE NINE SIX TWO. DETERMINE CURRENT NAME AND ADDRESS AND MAKE APPROPRIATE CHECKS.

WHEREABOUTS OF APPOINTEE'S OTHER DAUGHTER AND SON ACCOUNTED FOR.

COMMAGER IS ON LIST OF PERSONS NOT TO BE CONTACTED WITHOUT PRIOR BUREAU APPROVAL. ASSIGN TO MATURE AGENT PERSONNEL. EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED TO OBLViate ANY POSSIBILITY OF

CHARGES OF CHARACTER ASSASSINATION BEING MADE AGAINST BUREAU.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WHB:paa COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
(3) AUG 8 1962

NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

TELETYPE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Return to Room

Room 1260

b7c

**TELETYPE TO NEW HAVEN
RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER**

**NH SUTEL RESULTS OF YOUR INVESTIGATION BY COB AUGUST NINE,
NEXT, FOLLOWED BY REPORT.**

**BS NOTE WHO'S WHO LISTS APPOINTEE'S WIFE AS EVAN WHEREAS
NEWSPAPER CLIPPING AT CREDIT BUREAU, BRATTLEBORO, VERMONT,
INDICATES HER NAME AS ELIZABETH. BS SUTEL DATE OF UREP AND
NAME OF REPORTING AGENT.**

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 8 1962

- 2 -

TELETYPE

5:47P.M. *lm*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 8 1962

TELETYPE

URGENT 8-8-62 4-19 PM JAA

TO DIRECTOR, FBI -12-
FROM SAC, NEW YORK /161-1067/
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

b7c
MR. ██████████
ROOM 1246

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

REREP SA ██████████ AT NY AUGUST THREE. REALTEL AUGUST SIX. b7c

ON AUGUST TWO ██████████ NYU, RESIDING ██████████
NY, WAS INTERVIEWED BY SA ██████████ SHE STATED SHE KNEW COMMAGER
AS A COLLEAGUE AT NYU FROM ABOUT NINETEEN TWENTY SIX TO THIRTY EIGHT
AND HAS REMAINED IN CONTACT WITH HIM. SHE HIGHLY RECOMMENDS HIM.

ON AUGUST EIGHT MRS. ██████████ ADVISED SA ██████████

██████████ SHE WAS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH MR. AND MRS.
COMMAGER DURING SECOND WORLD WAR YEARS. SHE STATED SHE RECALLS GOING
TO A MEETING OF THE ICCASP ██████████ BUT DOES NOT RECALL
HAVING SEEN MR. OR MRS. COMMAGER THERE. SHE ADVISED COMMAGER LATER COM-
MENTED ON ORGANIZATION AND DID NOT THINK HIGHLY OF IT. HE INDICATED IT
WAS PROBABLY COMMUNIST INFILTRATED AND HE THOUGHT IT "A CRUMMY OUTFIT".
SHE STATED SHE CONSIDERS COMMAGER TO BE A LOYAL AMERICAN AND A PERSON OF
EXCELLENT CHARACTER, MORALS AND REPUTATION. SHE RECOMMENDS HIM WITHOUT
RESERVATION.

161-2126-29
NCT RECORDED

APPOINTEE AND FAMILY UNKNOWN TO CI-S, NYC AREA. 5 OCT 9 1962
IN DEC., FIFTY SEVEN, ██████████ ADVISED HENRY STEELE COMMAGER,
ACLU, NY, NY, CORRESPONDED WITH ██████████
██████████ b7c

REPORT FOLLOWS.

END

NY R 12 WA MSL 9/9/62

cc dictated

9/9/62

MSL 9/9/62

F B I

Date: 8/8/62

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via TELETYPEURGENT

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Mohr
 Mr. Callahan
 Mr. Conrad
 Mr. DeLoach
 Mr. Evans
 Mr. Malone
 Mr. Rosen
 Mr. Sullivan
 Mr. Tavel
 Mr. Trotter
 Tele. Room
 Miss Holmes
 Miss Gandy

MUR
 ROOM 1246

1046

b7c

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI, AND SACS BALTIMORE AND ST. LOUIS

FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1788)

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER; SPECIAL INQUIRY

BUDED AUGUST SIX, LAST.

REBUREAU AIRTEL TO BALTIMORE, JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

FOR INFORMATION OF ST. LOUIS STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF COMMAGER WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT, EXACT POSITION NOT STATED. BORN OCTOBER TWENTYFIVE, NINETEEN HUNDRED TWO, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, AND RESIDES AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS.

done
 APPOINTEE WAS MEMBER OF WAR DEPARTMENT COMMITTEE ON HISTORY OF THE WAR; AND OWI AND IN NINETEEN FORTYSIX TRAVELED TO FRANCE, BELGIUM AND BRITIAN FOR WAR DEPARTMENT. ST. LOUIS ATTEMPT TO LOCATE OFF AND REVIEW.

done
 BALTIMORE INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

done
 [REDACTED] DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, WHO IS RETIRED AND RESIDING [REDACTED] BALTIMORE.

16
 SUBMIT TELETYPE OF RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION TO REACH BUREAU BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS, AUGUST NINE, NEXT. P.

- ② - Bureau *cc destroyed*
 2 - Teletype Unit *9/19/62*
 1 - WFO *9/20/62*

LSM:dar

(5)

161-2126-30
 NOT RECORDED
 5 OCT 9 1962

Approved: *John J. Deane*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

No action
8/9/62
gjt

RECEIVED DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAY 20 1952

TELEDYSE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Mrs. Holmes
Miss Gandy

~~URGENT~~ 8-9-62 7-04 PM PDST
TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW HAVEN
FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO /161-536/
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

EMK

RE NEW HAVEN TEL TO BUREAU AUGUST NINE INSTANT.

RECORDS UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, REVEAL

NO CREDIT OR POLICE RECORD. REPORT FOLLOWS. NEW HAVEN AT HARTFORD,
CONNECTICUT, DETERMINE PRESENT RESIDENCE ADDRESS OF DAUGHTER AND SON-
IN-LAW FROM SOURCES CLOSE TO [REDACTED] FAMILY.

END AND ACK PLS

WA 10-07 PM OK FBT WA MSL

OK FBI NH RJC

TU DISC

1cc destroyed
9/19/62
JB/CW

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 9 1962 *gjr*

TELETYPE

MR. ██████████
ROOM 1246

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT 8-9-62 1-59 PM GJR

TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, SAN FRANCISCO
FROM SAC, NEW HAVEN 161-393 3P

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI. BUDED AUGUST SIX LAST.

RE BUREAU TELETYPE, EIGHT EIGHT LAST.

FOR INFO SAN FRANCISCO, STATE DEPT. REQUESTED INVESTIGATION
OF COMMAGER, WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT.
BORN OCT. TWENTY FIVE, ONE NINE ZERO TWO, PITTSBURGH, PA.
RESIDES AMHERST, MASS.

INVESTIGATION BY ALBANY REVEALED DAUGHTER, ELIZABETH, WAS
TO MARRY ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER III, OF HARTFORD, CONN., IN
EARLY SUMMER SIXTY TWO. SHE REPORTEDLY GRADUATED FROM RADCLIFFE
COLLEGE JUNE SIXTY TWO.

██████████ HARTFORD CREDIT RATING BUREAU, ADVISED
AUGUST NINE INSTANT, THAT HIS RECORDS ██████████
██████████
██████████
██████████

11-2126-32

ICC electronic
GJ/bf/jewell
per SF
notified

gjr

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SERGEANT [REDACTED] HARTFORD POLICE DEPT., ADVISED ON AUGUST NINE INSTANT THAT HIS RECORDS REFLECT NO INFORMATION IDENTIFIABLE WITH THE ANGIER FAMILY.

MISS [REDACTED] SUPERVISOR, STATE BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS, STATE OFFICE BUILDING, HARTFORD, CONN., ADVISED ON AUGUST NINE INSTANT, THAT HER RECORDS ARE NOT AVAILABLE CONCERNING MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES ISSUED SINCE JUNE SIXTY TWO.

MISS BETTY BARRETT, WOMEN-S EDITOR, HARTFORD COURANT NEWSPAPER, BROAD STREET, HARTFORD, CONN., MADE AVAILABLE THE SOCIETY SECTION OF HER PAPER SINCE MARCH SIXTY TWO AND AN ITEM WAS LOCATED DATED MARCH TWENTY FIVE LAST REFLECTING THAT ELIZABETH CARROLL COMMAGER, AMHERST, MASS., AND ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER III, OF HARTFORD, WERE TO BE MARRIED IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF SIXTY TWO. A FURTHER REVIEW OF THE PAPER REFLECTED ON SIX TEN LAST, THAT THE MARRIAGE OF ELIZABETH CARROLL COMMAGER AND ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER III, TOOK PLACE SIX NINE LAST AT THE

b7c

PAGE THREE

HOME OF HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, AMHERST, MASS. THE ARTICLE REFLECTED THAT ELIZABETH AND ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER III, WERE TO BE LIVING AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, WHERE ANGIER HAS BEEN GIVEN A WOODROW WILSON FELLOWSHIP FOR GRADUATE WORK AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. THE ARTICLE ALSO REFLECTED THAT ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER III IS A SIXTY TWO GRADUATE OF HARVARD AND ELIZABETH COMMAGER A SIXTY TWO GRADUATE OF RADCLIFFE COLLEGE.

SAN FRANCISCO WILL VERIFY RESIDENCE AND CONDUCT CREDIT AND ARREST CHECKS.

SUTEL RESULTS TO BUREAU BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS, EIGHT NINE INSTANT. FOLLOW WITH REPORT. RUC.

ONE CC SENT BOSTON BY MAIL.

END AND ACK PLS

2-07 PM OK FBI WA JDS

TU

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/9/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/2-8/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE-COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY ██████████ b7C	TYPED BY ad
CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY			

REFERENCES:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Report of SA ██████████ at NY, dated 8/3/62.
Albany teletype to Director, 8/6/62.
NY teletype to Director, 8/9/62.

- RUC -

INFORMANTS

The several confidential informants referred to
in the details of this report are:

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

1 - Bureau
1 - New York (161-1067)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

161-2126-33

NOT RECORDED

10 AUG 10 1962

RECEIVED FBI

NOTATIONS

JUL 10 1962 b7C
FBI
GIVE MONITOR SECTION

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT				
AGENCY				
REQUEST RECD.				
DATE FWD.				
HOW FWD.				
BY				

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 161-1067

INFORMANTS (Cont'd)Identity of SourceFile Number Where Located

100-81570

Mail Cover

Used to document [REDACTED]

*b2
b7D*Used to document [REDACTED] *b7C*

Used to document [REDACTED]

Used to document [REDACTED]

Careful consideration has been given to each of the sources concealed and T-symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.

COVER PAGE

- B* -

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:[REDACTED] b7c
August 9, 1962

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.:

New York 161-1067

Bureau File No.:

Title:

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Associate recommends. Mrs. [REDACTED] advised she attended meeting or ICCASP with son in mid-40's and does not recall COMMAGERs there; COMMAGER indicated it was probably Communist infiltrated. She recommends COMMAGER. Appointee and family unknown to confidential informants in NYC area. [REDACTED] advised HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, ACLU, corresponded with [REDACTED]

b7c

b2
b7D

b7C

- RUC -

NY 161-1067

DETAILS:

Associate

On August 2, 1962, [REDACTED] Professor of History, New York University, New York, New York, was interviewed at her summer residence.

[REDACTED] New York, by SA [REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] She stated she knew Professor COMMAGER as a colleague at the University from about 1926 to 1938 and has remained in contact with him since that time. She stated she always considered him to be a very intelligent, capable individual, conservative in his habits, and one of good character, morals and reputation. She never had reason to question his loyalty as an American citizen or his choice of associates and she highly recommends him for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

Miscellaneous

On August 7, 1962, Mrs. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that she met HENRY STEELE COMMAGER during World War II, when he was a Professor of History at Columbia University. She stated that she was closely acquainted with COMMAGER and his wife during the war years and has had only infrequent contact with them, since he left Columbia University.

Mrs. [REDACTED] stated she recalls going to a meeting of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions [REDACTED] sometime in the mid-forties. She stated she [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] does not recall having seen Mr. or Mrs. COMMAGER at this meeting. She stated she later heard Professor COMMAGER make comments about the committee which sponsored the meeting and he did not think highly of it. He indicated that the

NY 161-1067

organization was probably Communist infiltrated, and he thought it a "crummy outfit", which may have started out well but became infiltrated.

Mrs. [REDACTED] advised she considers COMMAGER to be a loyal American citizen and a person of excellent character, morals and reputation. She stated he has always impressed her as a person who is discreet in his choice of associates and she knows nothing of any organizations to which he may belong. She advised the other members of his family are individuals of the same caliber and she recommends COMMAGER without reservation for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government. *b7C*

Several confidential informants, familiar with some phases of Communist Party activities in the New York City area, advised the appointee and his family are unknown to them.

In December, 1957, [REDACTED] who did not know COMMAGER and who is not available for recontact, advised that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, American Civil Liberties Union, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York corresponded with [REDACTED] *b2 b7D b7C*

In January, 1958, [REDACTED] *b2 b7D b7C*

In April, 1961, [REDACTED] furnished information that [REDACTED] *b2 b7D b7C*

A characterization of the FPCC is contained in the Appendix of this report.

NY 161-1067

In April, 1961, [REDACTED] furnished information that [REDACTED]

b2
b7D
b7C

A characterization of the NYCAHCUA is contained in the Appendix of this report.

In May, 1961, [REDACTED] furnished information that [REDACTED]

A characterization of the Labor and Peoples Committee for May Day is contained in the Appendix of this report.

In April, 1961, [REDACTED] furnished information that on April 15, 1961, [REDACTED]

In May, 1961, [REDACTED] furnished information that [REDACTED]

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist weekly newspaper.

NY 161-1067

1.

APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE (FPCC)

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contains a full page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening In Cuba," placed by the FPCC. This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. CHARLES A. SANTOS-BUCH identified himself and ROBERT TABER as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and TABER obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.

On October 3, 1960, a source advised that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in New York had become active in the FPCC, and that SWP members, in a FPCC election, had been able to remove several Communist Party (CP) members who were on the Executive Board of the FPCC and gain control of the organization.

A second source advised that an announcement from National Headquarters of the SWP was made on September 24, 1961, to the effect RICHARD GIBSON had fired the secretary in the FPCC headquarters and was trying to break the SWP influence in the FPCC.

Column 2, page 8, of the February 22, 1962, edition of "The New York Times" contains an article captioned, "Castro Backer Resigns," which announced that ROBERT TABER had resigned as Executive Secretary of the FPCC and as President of the Institute for the Improvement of Inter-American Relations, Inc., which had organized the FPCC in April, 1960.

On May 17, 1962, a third source advised that National Headquarters of the FPCC is located in room 329 at 799 Broadway, New York City, and that the FPCC is operating under the direction of RICHARD GIBSON, Acting National Executive Secretary of the FPCC.

The SWP and the CP, USA, have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 161-1067

1.

APPENDIX

NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

On March 9, 1961, a source advised that the New York Council To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAUAC), 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York, was formed at a meeting held in New York City on November 17, 1960. This organization was founded principally through the efforts of FRANK WILKINSON, Field Representative of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

A second source advised on September 17, 1952, that FRANK WILKINSON was a Communist Party member as of September, 1952.

A third source furnished on September 14, 1961, a copy of resolutions of the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NYCAHUAC) which were adopted by the NYCAHUAC. One such resolution affirmed the intention to continue to work for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and to continue its efforts to broaden the participation in this fight. Another resolution accepted as a modus vivendi the suggestion of the Field Representative of the "National Committee to Abolish the HCUA" (NCAHUAC) namely that local abolition committees may identify and co-ordinate their efforts as closely as they desire with NCAHUAC, still maintaining their autonomy for as flexible and independent a program as possible.

Various sources have advised during March, 1962, that Communist Party (CP) members in the New York City area have been solicited to support activities of the NYCAHUAC during attendance at CP club meetings.

On June 6, 1962, the first source advised that the NYCAHUAC continues to function from its office at 150 West 34th Street, New York City, New York.

NY 161-1067

APPENDIX

1.

1961 LABOR AND PEOPLES
COMMITTEE FOR MAY DAY

A source advised on January 20 - 22, 1961, that a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA was held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, on January 20 - 22, 1961. GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP USA, stated on January 22, 1961, that preparations should be made for May Day.

A second source advised on February 21, 1961, of receiving a mimeographed letter dated February 20, 1961, announcing that a Pre-May Day Conference was being held on February 28, 1961, at Adelphi Hall. The letter was written over the name of ARTHUR KNIGHT, Vice Chairman, Labor and Peoples Committee for May Day.

A third source advised in February, 1961, that ARTHUR KNIGHT was the current Press Director of the New York County CP.

Records of the Department of Parks, Old Arsenal Building, New York City, reflect that the 1961 Labor and Peoples Committee for May Day was granted a permit to hold a rally at Washington Square, New York City, on May 1, 1961, from 4:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed the proceedings of the rally on May 1, 1961. The theme of the rally was peace, jobs and equality. The speakers urged a six-hour day and a thirty-hour week, with forty hours pay to end unemployment. They spoke against anti-Semitism, Negro discrimination, the revival of Nazism and the rearmament of West Germany; and denounced United States intervention in Cuba.

A fourth source advised on May 15, 1961, that by letter dated May 12, 1961, the Committee thanked the participants of the rally and stated "We are looking forward to working together next year on a sunny May 1st - both literally and politically".

The second source advised that the Committee office was located at 130 East 16th Street, Room 3, New York, New York.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office NEW HAVEN	Office of Origin BUREAU	Date 8/9/62	Investigative Period 8/9/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		Report made by SA [REDACTED] b7c	Typed By: acg
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

3770266:

REFERENCE:

Bureau teletype dated 8/8/62.

- RUC -

Approved <i>CCW</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below
Copies made: 1- Bureau 1- New Haven (161-393)		<i>161-2126-34</i>
		<u>NOT RECORDED</u>
		<i>12 AUG 10 1962</i>
		<i>See [initials]</i>

A.*

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:SA [REDACTED]
August 9, 1962

Office: NEW HAVEN

b7c

Field Office File No.: 161-393

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER, III married ELIZABETH CARROLL COMMAGER, daughter of HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, at Amherst, Mass., 6/9/62. Couple are to live in Berkeley, California, where ANGIER to do graduate work at University of California under Woodrow Wilson Fellowship.

[REDACTED]

Details: AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
[REDACTED]

NH 161-393

Miss ██████████ State Bureau of Vital Statistics, State Office Building, Hartford, advised on August 9, 1962, that her records are not available concerning marriage certificates issued since June of 1962.

Miss BETTY BARRETT, Women's Editor, "Hartford Courant", on August 9, 1962, made available the Society Section of this newspaper since March 1962, and an item was located dated March 25, 1962, reflecting that ELIZABETH CARROLL COMMAGER, Amherst, Massachusetts, and ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER, III of Hartford, were to be married in the early Summer of 1962. A further review of the newspaper reflected on June 10, 1962, that the marriage of ELIZABETH CARROLL COMMAGER and ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER, III, took place on June 9, 1962, at the home of HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Amherst, Massachusetts. The article reflected that ELIZABETH and ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER, III, were to be living in Berkley, California, where ANGIER has been given a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship for graduate work at the University of California. The article also reflected that ROSSWELL PARKER ANGIER, III is a 1962 graduate of Harvard and ELIZABETH COMMAGER a 1962 graduate of Radcliffe College.

b7c

DECODED COPY

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

 Radio Teletype

URGENT 8-9-62

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC, BOSTON 091800

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

REBUTEL AUGUST 8. REPORT OF SA [REDACTED]

SUBMITTED AUGUST 7 LAST.

RECEIVED: 3:19 PM HL

MR.
ROOM 1240b
c

161-2126-55
NOT RECORDED
 5 OCT 9 1962

1cc destroyed
 9/19/62

JB/cac

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 9 1962

TELETYPE

Probation
8/9/62
JG

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT 8-9-62 9:13 PM CDST RCW

TO DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM SAC, ST. LOUIS 161-1079 2-P

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

BUDED. AUGUST SIX, LAST

RE WASHINGTON FIELD TELETYPE AUGUST EIGHT, LAST.

FILE OF FEDERAL RECORDS CENTER, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
INDICATED HENRY STEELE COMMAGER EMPLOYED BY OFFICE OF WAR
INFORMATION JUNE TWO, FORTYTHREE TO MAY FOURTEEN, FORTYFIVE
AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK AS CONSULTANT WHEN ACTUALLY EMPLOYED
AND AT LONDON, ENGLAND AS CONSULTANT WITHOUT COMPENSATION.
TERMINATED BY REDUCTION IN FORCE.

EMPLOYED BY WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF ASSISTANT CHIEF OF
STAFF G DASH TWO, HISTORICAL BRANCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE
NINE, FORTYTHREE TO SEPTEMBER THIRTY, FORTYFOUR AND OCTOBER
SEVENTEEN, FORTYFIVE TO JUNE THIRTY, FORTY SEVEN AS EXPERT WHEN
ACTUALLY EMPLOYED. REASON FOR TERMINATION FIRST PERIOD NOT
SHOWN. TERMINATED SECOND PERIOD BY EXPIRATION OF APPOINTMENT.

END OF PAGE ONE

1cc destroyed
9/19/62
JG

161-2126-36

9/23/62

PAGE TWO

EMPLOYED BY WAR DEPARTMENT, INFORMATION AND EDUCATION DIVISION, WASHINGTON, D.C. AND PARIS, FRANCE MAY TWENTYEIGHT, FORTYFIVE TO SEPTEMBER THIRTY, FORTYFIVE AS EXPERT. TERMINATED DUE TO COMPLETION OF WORK.

EMPLOYED BY DEPARTMENT OF STATE, OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, WASHINGTON, D.C., JANUARY TEN, FIFTYONE TO JANUARY ELEVEN, FIFTYONE AS CONSULTANT WITHOUT COMPENSATION. TERMINATED DUE TO COMPLITION OF ASSIGNMENT.

NO UNFAVORABLE INFORMATION. REPORT FOLLOWS. P
CORR SUBJECT-S FIRST NAME SHOULD BE HENRY NOT HENERY
BEGINNING TIME WAS 9-13 PM

END AND ACK PLS

10-18 PM OK FBI WA RL

TU DISC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 9 1962

TELETYPE

URGENT 8-9-62 4-50 PM KAC

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, BALTIMORE /161-840/ RUC

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

RE WFO TEL AUG. EIGHT LAST.

DR. [REDACTED] SAYS HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE [REDACTED]
SINCE ABOUT NINETEEN THIRTYTHREE MOSTLY ON PROFESSIONAL BASIS.
STATES APPOINTEE IN HIS OPINION ONE OF LEADING HISTORIANS IN
THE U.S. AND IS WELL KNOWN AS COAUTHOR WITH SAMUEL MORISON
OF BOOK ENTITLED HISTORY OF UNITED STATES. [REDACTED] SAYS
THIS BOOK IN HIS OPINION BEST HISTORY OF U. S. IN EXISTENCE.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] SAYS IN HIS OPINION
COMMAGER IS A LEARNED AND INTELLIGENT PERSON OF HIGHEST
CHARACTER AND REPUTATION AND LOYAL CITIZEN. SAYS WOULD
RECOMMEND TO POSITION OF HIGH TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. NO REP
BEING SUBMITTED UACB.

END AND ACK PLS.

4-51 PM OK FBI WA GJJ

TU DISC

1cc destroyed
9/17/62
2E/1cc

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MR
ROOM 1245

b7C

b7C

161-2126-37
NOT RECORDED

OCT 9 1962

9/13/62

8-9-62

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SACS BOSTON (161-856)
NEW YORK (161-1067)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

CONTACT AN ADDITIONAL NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE IN POSITION TO COMMENT CONCERNING APPOINTEE. DETERMINE IF APPOINTEE'S PARENTS, JAMES AND ELIZABETH, ARE DECEASED. ALSO DETERMINE IF APPOINTEE HAS BROTHERS OR SISTERS NOW LIVING. COMPLETE NAMES AND CURRENT ADDRESSES OF ALL IMMEDIATE RELATIVES MUST BE ASCERTAINED BY ACTIVE INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH.

AFFORD MATTER IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND CLOSE SUPERVISION.
FURNISH RESULTS WITHOUT FAIL BY NOON ON AUGUST THIRTEEN, NEXT.

W.H.B.:sh

(3)

161-2126-38
NOT RECORDED
8 OCT 9 1962

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
P. _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Room 1460

TELETYPE

7-23 P

QD

b7c

WPA st

F B I

Date: 8/10/62

27

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1788) (P)
 HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
 SPI

Bu airtel dated 8/8/62.

The following persons were interviewed on 8/9/62,
by SA [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] of New York stated he did not know the appointee personally but knew him by reputation as a distinguished historian. He stated that he had no knowledge favorable or unfavorable with regard to his loyalty, character or reliability.

[REDACTED] of New York stated he had met the appointee once and that he knew him by reputation as an outstanding specialist in the field of American History. He stated that he had never heard anything but the highest concerning him but could comment no further regarding him.

② - Bureau
1 - WFO

LSM:skn
(4)

AIRTEL

161-2126-59
NOT RECORDED
5 807 9 1962

2cc destroyed
9/19/62

JB/csc

9/3

JFB

Approved: Jewell Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 10 1962

TELETYPE

URGENT 8/10/62 12-03 PM MJM

TO DIRECTOR 5 AND SAC ALBANY
FROM SAC NEW YORK 161-1067 1P
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

Lead All Day
REURFILE

BUTEL AUGUST NINE INSTRUCTS TO CONTACT AN ADDITIONAL NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE IN POSITION TO COMMENT CONCERNING APPOINTEE. DETERMINE IF APPOINTEE'S PARENTS, JAMES AND ELIZABETH ARE DECEASED. ALSO DETERMINE IF APPOINTEE HAS BROTHERS OR SISTERS NOW LIVING. COMPLETE NAMES AND CURRENT ADDRESSES OF ALL IMMEDIATE RELATIVES MUST BE ASCERTAINED BY ACTIVE INVESTIGATION AND APPROPRIATE CHECKS MADE CONCERNING EACH.

AFFORD MATTER IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND CLOSE SUPERVISION.
FURNISH RESULTS WITHOUT FAIL BY NOON ON AUGUST THIRTEEN NEXT.

INVESTIGATION NY UNIVERSITY, NYC, REFLECTS [REDACTED] WHO WAS COLLEAGUE OF COMMAGER DURING HIS EMPLOYMENT THERE, IS CURRENTLY ON VACATION AT PEACHAM, VERMONT.

ALBANY ATTEMPT TO LOCATE AND INTERVIEW [REDACTED]
END AND ACK

12-07 PM OK FBI WA JHM

PDS ACK AG

12-01/1111 NY R 5 WA JHM
1CC *Montoya*
TU 9/19/62

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Wm. Holmes
Miss Gandy

MR/ [REDACTED] b7c
ROOM 1246

b7c
161-2126-4
NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962

gjm

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 10 1962

TELETYPE

b7c

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

URGENT

8-10-62

2-49 PM

TFS

MR
ROOM 1246

TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, NEW YORK /161-1067/
FROM SAC, BOSTON /161-856/ 1P NY VIA WA
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

REBUTEL TO BOSTON AND NEW YORK, AUGUST NINE LAST, AT
SEVEN SIXTEEN P.M.

[REDACTED] TODAY ADVISED HE BELIEVES b7c
APPOINTEE-S PARENTS PRESENTLY DECEASED. HE SAID HE NEVER
HEARD OF ANY BROTHERS OR SISTERS.

OTHER SOURCES BOSTON HAD NO INFORMATION RE RELATIVES.

END ACK PLS

2-50 PM OK FBI WA BH FOR RELA

TU DISCV

161-2126-41
NCT 2
E OCT 8

1cc destroyed
9/19/62
98/cmc

gpb
RELAYED TO ALY

920 action
8/10/62
J.D.H.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 10 1962

TELETYPE *u.s.*

b7c

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy
MR. ██████████
ROOM 2246

b7c

URGENT

8-10-62

5-35

PM

WEB

TO DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC-S, BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA & WFO
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON
FROM SAC, ALBANY /161-360/ 4 P
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

RE NEW YORK TEL THIS DATE, DIRECTING RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION
BE FURNISHED WITHOUT FAIL BY NOON, AUGUST THIRTEEN NEXT.

██████████ NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NOW VACATIONING
PEACHAM, VT., STATES DOES NOT KNOW IDENTITIES OR WHEREABOUTS OF
IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS OF APPOINTEE OR HIS PARENTS. STATES THOSE
WHOM HE BELIEVES ARE CLOSEST TO COMMAGER ARE COLON

██████████ RETIRED,
HARVARD UNIVERSITY, ██████████ b7c-2126-4

NOT RECORDED

E OCT 9 1962

AND ██████████ b7c

██████████ BOTH OF HISTORY DEPT., COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, N. Y. C.

SND PAGE ONE 1C C *get ready*
9/10/62

RELAYED TO NY - TWO COPIES WFO

9/10/62

b7c

PAGE TWO

REXX

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, N. Y. C.

b7c

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

RESIDING

OF MXX AMHERST COLLEGE,

STATES COMMAGER WROTE MANY FEATURE ARTICLES FOR
QUOTE NEW YORK TIMES UNQUOTE SUNDAY MAGAZINE, IS BRILLIANT HISTORIAN
AND WRITER, ONE WHO BELONGS TO WHAT MIGHT BE TERMED THE QUOTE

LIBERAL LEFT UNQUOTE IN TXX U. S. AND ADMires HIM FOR HIS HONEST

COURAGEOUS STAND ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND SEGREGATION MATTERS AND STATES
WOULD STAKE LIFE AND SOUL ON FACT THAT COMMAGER NOT SYMPATHETIC
TO COMMUNIST IDEALS AND IS NOT EVEN A MILD SOCIALIST BUT IS A

GREAT MIND IN THE GREAT AMERICAN TRADITION OF A LIBERTARIAN.

(WHAT SIDE
TAKES 2).

COMMAGER IS ONE WHO ADVOCATES FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND IS A
WONDERFULLY LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC AMERICAN WHO WOULD OPPOSE ALL
END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

TOTALITARIANISM AND WOULD DEVOTE HIS TIME AND ENERGY TO FURTHER AND SUSTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF U. S. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

NEW YORK, IF NOT ALREADY DONE, INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
[REDACTED] FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, AND CONSIDER CONTACT OF
QUOTE NEW YORK TIMES UNQUOTE FOR IDENTITIES IMMEDIATE RELATIVES AND CURRENT ADDRESSES OF SAME.

BOSTON, IF NOT ALREADY DONE, CONTACT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RETIRED, HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
BELIEVED RESIDING VICINITY OF CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

WFO, IF NOT ALREADY DONE, AND CONSIDERED FEASIBLE, DETERMINE IF [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IS AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW. .

PHILADELPHIA IF NOT ALREADY DONE, INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

END PAGE THREE

b7c

PAGE FOUR

ALL OFFICES DETERMINE IF PARENTS, JAMES AND ELIZABETH,
ARE DECEASED, IDENTITIES OF LIVING BROTHERS AND SISTERS,
AND CURRENT ADDRESSES AND ALL MEMBERS OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY,
MAKING APPROPRIATE CHECKS ON AXX EACH.

CORR

b7c

PAGE TWO LINE 1 WRD 1 [REDACTED]

LINE 5 WRD FOUR DILXXXX DIPLOMAT

LINE NINE LAST WRD AND

PAGE THREE LINE ONE WRD 1 TOTALITARIANISM

END AND AC K PLS

WA 5-47 M PM OK FBI WA WS R RELAY

BS OK FBI BS JJC

PH OK FBI PH FJS

TU ALL DISCT

TU OPR

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 10 1962

URGENT 8-10-62 5-05 PM AMG

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, NEW HAVEN 161-393
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

BUDED - AUGUST SIX LAST.

RE BUTEL AUGUST EIGHT LAST, NEW HAVEN TEL AUGUST NINE LAST.

MISS [REDACTED] TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

ONE TWO ZERO SIGOURNEY ST., HARTFORD, CONN., ADVISED ON AUGUST
TEN INSTANT THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CREDIT AND ARREST CHECKS SET FORTH IN NEW HAVEN TEL
AUGUST NINE LAST. RUC.

END AND ACK

5-0730.

5-07 PM OK FBI WA BH

TU DISCM

161-2126-43

100-2126-43
7/10/62
JAS/BS

JAS/BS

BS

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BOSTON	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/10/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/10/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY b7c mtm
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated August 7, 1962 at Boston. Bureau teletype to Boston, dated August 9, 1962. Boston teletype to Bureau and New York, dated August 10, 1962.

-RUC-

ADMINISTRATIVE

Efforts were made to contact additional professors and faculty members of colleges and universities in the Boston area, but were found unavailable due to summer recess.

During initial stages of investigation efforts were made to ascertain identity and residences of relatives and where information obtained it concerned the appointee's children only.

-A-

COVER PAGE

APPROVED <i>S</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW 161-2126-44
COPIES MADE: ① - Bureau 1 - Boston (161-856)	NOT RECORDED 11 AUG 13 1962	

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT				
AGENCY.....	.....	.....	.....	1,23
REQUEST RECD.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
DATE FWD.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
HOW FWD.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
BY.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

NOTATIONS

BS 161-856

On August 10, 1962, Miss [REDACTED] of Amherst College, advised SA [REDACTED] that she again made an exhaustive search of all available records pertaining to the appointee, but she could locate no further data concerning him or his relatives. She could suggest no sources now on the campus who would be in a position to furnish this information.

It is also to be noted that, during the initial phases of this investigation, the Boston Office attempted to develop all information pertaining to the appointee's relatives, and only that which was secured has been furnished previously.

b7c

-B- *

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c
Date: August 10, 1962 Office: BOSTON

Field Office File No.: BS 161-856 Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Results of additional interviews set out.

-RUC-

DETAILS: The investigation at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, was conducted by SA [REDACTED] b7c
at Boston College, Newton, Massachusetts, by SA [REDACTED]
and at Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts,
by SA [REDACTED]

BS 161-856

On August 10, 1962, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Amherst College.

[REDACTED]
Amherst, Massachusetts, advised Special Agent [REDACTED] b7c
that he has known the appointee as a colleague at Amherst
since the date of the appointee's commencement of duties
at Amherst. Although not closely acquainted with the ap-
pointee, he said he considers him to be an outstanding
scholar and one in whom he has complete faith and confidence
as to loyalty, associates and character. He had no informa-
tion concerning the appointee's relatives.

BS 161-856

SJL:pd

67C

On August 10, 1962, [REDACTED] of the History Department, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts and [REDACTED] of the History Department, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts advised that they have known the appointee for a number of years and they stated that his character, reputation, associates and loyalty were above reproach. They stated that the appointee was recognized as a leader in the field of history and that this recognition was well earned. They stated that they did not hesitate to recommend him for a position of trust and confidence.

On August 10, 1962, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both of the History Department, Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts advised that they have met the appointee on a few occasions but that they knew him mostly by reputation. They stated that the appointee was recognized as a leader in research and writer of history in the world. They stated that his reputation and character and loyalty have never been questioned to their knowledge. They stated that based on the appointee's reputation they would not hesitate to recommend him for a position of trust and confidence.

BS 161-856

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] History Department, b7c
and [REDACTED] all Boston College,
Newton, Massachusetts, when interviewed on August 10, 1962, advised
that they did not know the appointee personally. However, informa-
tion which they had in their possession would lead them to believe
that the appointee was an asset in the educational field. They
stated that they had no reason in their possession to doubt the
character, associates, reputation or loyalty of the appointee.

BS 161-856

LJQ:lc

On August 10, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he
knows the appointee as a professor of history at Amherst
College who has an outstanding reputation as a historian.
He said his personal acquaintanceship with the appointee
has been limited to several casual meetings at academic
seminars. He said that insofar as he knows, the appointee
is a loyal citizen of good character, reputation and
associations. He said he knows of no reason why the
appointee would not be qualified to hold a position of
trust, confidence and responsibility.

BS 161-856

LJQ:lc

On August 10, 1962, [REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] Department of Government, Harvard
University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he knows
the appointee by reputation only. He said that the
appointee is a historian of great ability and talent.
He said that he knows nothing derogatory concerning the
appointee.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/10/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/9/62 - 8/10/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY smp
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCE:

New Haven teletype to Bureau, dated 8/9/62.
 San Francisco teletype to Bureau, dated 8/9/62.

- RUC -

APPROVED <i>J. W. [Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: <input checked="" type="radio"/> - Bureau (AMSD) 1 - San Francisco (161-536) RECEIVED 1: 8 I		161-2126-H5 NOT RECORDED 16 AUG 13 1962	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT			
AGENCY.....		1 2 DEEL POLICE	
REQUEST REC'D.		E B	
DATE FWD.		25 AUG 1962	SECTION
NAME FWD			

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

- (b)(1)
 (b)(2)
 (b)(3)

 (b)(4)
 (b)(5)
 (b)(6)

- (b)(7)(A)
 (b)(7)(B)
 (b)(7)(C)

 (b)(7)(D)
 (b)(7)(E)
 (b)(7)(F)

- (b)(8)
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- (d)(5)
 (j)(2)
 (k)(1)

 (k)(2)
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 (k)(6)
 (k)(7)

- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
 Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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 Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

HQ 161-2126-45 - pg. 1-2

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X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
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(1-59)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ST. LOUIS	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/10/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/8-9/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY ICB [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY km
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCE: Washington Field Office teletype, dated 8/8/62.
St. Louis teletype, dated 8/9/62.

STATUS: - RUC -

- A* -
COVER PAGE

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 1 - Bureau (AM) 1 - St. Louis (161-1079)		161-2126-46 NOT RECORDED 10 AUG 13 1962 161-2126-46
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS
AGENCY.....		Mac 13 1962
REQUEST RECD.....		161-1079
DATE FWD.....		10 AUG 13 1962
HOW FWD.....		8
BY.....		161-2126-46

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: IC [REDACTED] b7c
Date: AUGUST 10, 1962 Office: ST. LOUIS

Field Office File No.: SL 161-1079 Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: Records FRC, St. Louis, Mo., indicated HENRY STEELE COMMAGER employed by Office of War Information, New York, New York, on W.A.E. basis, and London, England, without compensation. Terminated by reduction in force. Employed by War Department, AC of S, G-2, Washington, D.C., two occasions on W.A.E. basis. Reason for termination not shown one occasion. Terminated by reason of expiration of appointment second occasion. Employed by War Dept., I. and E. Div., Washington, D.C.; Paris, France. Terminated by reason of completion of work. Employed by State Dept., Washington, D.C., without compensation. Terminated by reason of completion of assignment.

- RUC -

DETAILS: AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

On August 9, 1962, a review of the personnel records, Federal Records Center, St. Louis, Missouri, indicated that HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was employed on June 2, 1943, as a Consultant, on a per diem basis, when actually employed, with the Executive Office of the President, Office

SL 161-1079

for Emergency Management, Office of War Information, Overseas Publications Bureau, Publications Division, Booklet Section, at New York, New York. Effective August 1, 1943, he was reassigned to the Overseas Operations Branch, Outpost Service Bureau, as a Consultant, without compensation. Effective August 7, 1943, he was transferred to London, England. Effective October 16, 1943, he was transferred to the Overseas Publications Bureau, Publications Division, Booklet Section, New York, New York, as a Consultant, on a per diem basis, when actually employed. This employment was terminated on May 14, 1945, as a Consultant, by reason of reduction in force.

He was employed on June 9, 1943, as an Expert Consultant, on a per diem basis, when actually employed, with the War Department, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Historical Branch, at Washington, D.C. This employment was terminated on September 30, 1944, as an Expert, reason not shown.

He was employed on May 28, 1945, as an Expert, on a per diem basis, with the War Department, Headquarters, Army Service Forces, Information and Education Division, Information Branch, at Washington, D.C. This employment was terminated on September 30, 1945, as an Expert, by reason of completion of work. The records contained travel orders which indicated that he was authorized 120 days temporary duty at the Headquarters, Communications Zone, U.S. Forces European Theater of Operations, Paris, France, during this employment; however, the exact dates of such temporary duty were not shown.

He was employed on October 17, 1945, as an Expert, on a per diem basis, when actually employed, with the War Department, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Historical Division, at Washington, D.C. This employment was terminated on June 30, 1947, as an Expert, by reason of expiration of appointment.

He was employed on January 10, 1951, as a Consultant, without compensation, not to exceed two days, with the Department of State, Office of Public Affairs, Division of

SL 161-1079

Public Liaison, at Washington, D.C.

This employment was terminated on January 11, 1951,
as a Consultant, by reason of completion of assignment.

The date and place of birth were shown as October 25,
1902, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

NY
8/11/62
FBI

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 11 1962

MEMORANDUM

MR.
ROOM 1245

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7C

URGENT 8-11-62 4-52 AM TDM

TO DIRECTOR FBI -4- AND SACS BOSTON, NEW HAVEN, AND SAN FRANCISCO
FROM SAC NEW YORK /161-1067/ 2P /RUC/

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

RE BUAIRTEL JULY TWENTYFOUR AND BUTEL AUGUST NINE.

STATE DEPARTMENT HAS REQUESTED INVESTIGATION OF COMMAGER WHO IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENT, EXACT POSITION NOT STATED. BORN OCTOBER TWENTYFIVE NINETEEN TWO, PITTSBURGH, PA. AND RESIDES AMHERST, MASS.

AFFORD MATTER IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND CLOSE SUPERVISION. FURNISH RESULTS WITHOUT FAIL BY NOON ON AUGUST THIRTEEN NEXT.

INVESTIGATION AT NY UNIVERSITY, WHERE APPOINTEE WAS EMPLOYED AS PROFESSOR, NINETEEN TWENTYSIX TO THIRTYNINE, REFLECTS COLLEAGUE,

CURRENTLY AT CANNONDALE, CONNECTICUT, [REDACTED]

NEW HAVEN INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

14 8/11 - not av.

INVESTIGATION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY REFLECTS [REDACTED]

HISTORY DEPARTMENT, WHO MAY KNOW APPOINTEE, CAN BE REACHED AT [REDACTED]

BOSTON INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

X B) 5/1

INVESTIGATION THERE ALSO REFLECTS [REDACTED]

HISTORY DEPARTMENT, WHO MAY KNOW APPOINTEE, CURRENTLY AT [REDACTED]

161-2100-47
SAN FRANCISCO INTERVIEW

NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

X SF
TJ
- 8/13

ICC electronic

7/13/62
je/kcc

END PAGE ONE

GFB

— DFB

PAGE TWO

FOR INFO NEW HAVEN AND SAN FRANCISCO BUTEL INSTRUCTS TO DETERMINE
IF APPOINTEE-S PARENTS, JAMES AND ELIZABETH, ARE DECEASED. ALSO
DETERMINE IF APPOINTEE HAS BROTHERS OR SISTERS NOW LIVING, AND
SET OUT NECESSARY CHECKS.

FOR INFO BUREAU, INVESTIGATION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
REFLECTS ASSOCIATES [REDACTED] b7c
[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ARE VACATIONING IN TRAVEL STATUS AND WILL NOT
BE AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW UNTIL AFTER LABOR DAY.

INASMUCH AS NO INTERVIEWS OF ASSOCIATES CONDUCTED AT NYO, RUC.
END AND ACK
NY R 4 WA HFL

*Mt 1101
www*

COMMUNIQUE REC'D.
AUG 11 1962

pls

TELETYPE

~~URGENT~~

8-11-62 3-15 PM EDST

JEW

~~TO , DIRECTOR, FBI~~

~~FROM, SAC, BOSTON /161-856/~~

~~HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI~~

RE NEW YORK TEL AUGUST ELEVEN INSTANT.

b7
1246

ON AUGUST ELEVEN INSTANT [REDACTED]

COL-

- UMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, [REDACTED]

A

[REDACTED] ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SINCE NINETEEN FORTY SIX WHEN BOTH MEMBERS HISTORY DEPARTMENT AND FACULTY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. IN NINETEEN FIFTY SIX APPOINTEE TRANSFERRED TO AMHERST COLLEGE BUT [REDACTED] HAS MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH HIM. HE DESCRIBED APPOINTEE AS RESPONSIBLE, VERSATILE AND EXTREMELY KNOWLEGABLE IN THE FIELD OF CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY AND CIVIL WAR HISTORY. HE RECOMMENDED APPOINTEE FOR A POSITION OF TRUST AND RESPONSIBILITY WITH U. S. GOVT., AND RECOMMENDED HIM FOR CHARACTER, REPUTATION, PATRIOTISM, LOYALTY AND ASSOCIATES. REPORT FOLLOWS...
161-2126-48

EN

NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

X

HB.

~~CORR LINE FOUR SHD READ "HE HAS KNOWN APPOINTEE SINCE NINETEEN FORTY SIX WHEN BOTH MEMBERS HISTORY DEPARTMENT AND FACULTY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. & NINETEEN FIFTY SIX ETC...~~

ENF AND ACK PLS

1cc destroyed

9/9/62

20/6/62

WA

3-20 PM OK FBI WA LVS

GJM

*2-11-62
8-11-62
ccw*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 11 1962 *lens*

TELETYPE

URGENT 8-11-62 6-26 0 PM FEC

TO DIRECTOR FBI
FROM SAC NEW HAVEN /161-393/
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

RE NEW YORK TEL AUGUST ELEVEN INSTANT.

MRS. ██████████ SISTER OF ██████████

██████████ ADVISED ██████████ TRAVELING BY CAR ON VACATION IN CALIFORNIA AND IDAHO, EXACT WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN. WILL NOT RETURN UNTIL AFTER AUGUST SIXTEEN NEXT.

IN VIEW OF NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE ANY ASSOCIATION SINCE NINETEEN THIRTY NINE AND NO INFORMATION INDICATING ██████████ KEY PERSON TO BE INTERVIEWED, NO ADDITIONAL ATTEMPTS WILL BE MADE TO INTERVIEW ██████████ UACB.

COPY SENT TO NEW YORK VIA MAIL.

END AND ACK PLS

6-30 PM OK FBI WA DA

TU DIS

MR. ██████████
ROOM 4246

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

67C

161-2126-49
NOT FOR RELEASE

8 OCT 9 1962

9/11/62

8/13.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE ALBANY	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/11/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/10/62
TITLE OF CASE <i>O</i> HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY b7c jfm
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY	

REFERENCE:

New York teletype to Director, and Albany,
8/10/62;

Albany teletype to Director, New York, Boston,
Philadelphia, WFO dated 8/10/62.

- RUC -

- A* -
COVER PAGE

APPROVED <i>PB</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE <i>Murphy</i>	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 1-Bureau 1-Albany (161-360) A L airtel 8/14/62 on memo p-2/s shown		161-2126-50	
		NOT RECORDED 10 AUG 18 1962	
		RECEIVED FBI - ALBANY 8/14/62	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS 13 4 32 b4, b5 12 DEEL 72 E B J CIA FOR INFORMATION SECTION	
AGENCY			
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.			
HOW FWD.			
BY			

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b7c
Date: August 11, 1962

Office: ALBANY, NEW YORK

Field Office File No.: 161-360

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] N.Y. University, vacationing at Peacham, Vt., states not familiar with family or immediate relatives of COMMAGER. States COMMAGER is brilliant historian and writer who might be regarded as belonging to "Liberal Left" in U.S. whom he admires for his honest and courageous stand on civil liberties and segregation matters and is one who is not sympathetic to Communist ideals, is not even a mild socialist, but is a loyal and patriotic American who opposes totalitarianism and would devote his time and energy to further the democratic principles of the U.S. form of Government.

- RUC -

DETAILS:

AT PEACHAM, VERMONT

On August 10, 1962 Mr. [REDACTED] New York University, New York City, New York, advised that he is spending the summer at Peacham, Vermont. He

stated that he has known HENRY STEELE COMMAGER for many years, although he was not teaching at New York University at the same time with COMMAGER. He stated that he has not seen Professor COMMAGER for ~~twelve or~~ ^{2 or 3} ~~thirteen~~ years and has never known him on a social basis. He stated that he does not know the family of Professor COMMAGER and could not say whether his parents are alive or not and has no idea of the number, if any, of his brothers and sisters, or their whereabouts. He stated that Professor COMMAGER has two or three children, whose names he does not know and he does not know their residences. He stated that he recalled that one or more of his children studied in England. Mr. [REDACTED] stated that he has met COMMAGER's wife, whose name he believes is EVAN.

b7c

[REDACTED] stated that he is more familiar with the writings of Professor COMMAGER than he is with COMMAGER himself. He stated that Professor COMMAGER wrote many feature articles for the "New York Times" Sunday magazine and wrote many books, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and has heard him speak on occasions. He stated that HENRY COMMAGER is a brilliant historian and a brilliant writer. He stated that COMMAGER might be termed as belonging to the "Liberal Left" in the United States and he, [REDACTED] has admired him for his honesty and courageous stand on civil liberties and segregation matters.

[REDACTED] stated that he would stake his life and soul on the fact that Professor COMMAGER is not sympathetic to Communist ideals and is not even a mild socialist but is a great mind in the great American tradition of a libertarian, one who advocates freedom of expression. At the same time [REDACTED]

AL 161-360

[redacted] stated, COMMAGER is a wonderfully loyal and patriotic American who would oppose all totalitarianism and would devote his time and energy to further and sustain the democratic principles of the United States form of Government.

[redacted] stated that COMMAGER is a man of the highest reputation for good character and associations and whose loyalty to the United States is absolutely unquestioned.

b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 18 1962

TELETYPE

MR. ██████████
ROOM 1246

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Malone _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

b7c

URGENT 8-13-62 11-09 AM PDT KSJ

TO DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO /161-536/

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. SPI.

RE NEW YORK TEL TO BUREAU AUGUST ELEVEN LAST.

COLUMBIA

UNIVERSITY, RECOMMENDS COMMAGER WHOM HE HAS KNOWN SINCE
NINETEEN FORTYFOUR OR FORTYFIVE AND UNDER WHOM HE OBTAINED
PH. D. DEGREE AT COLUMBIA. REPORT FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK PLS

WA 23 2-10 PM OKFBI WAJDS

161-2126-51
NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962

WTB

1cc 10-18-62
9/12/62
GJ/12/62

9/12/62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 13 1962

TELETYPE

b7c

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT

8-13-62

10-12

AM

EDST

TTS

TO, DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM, SAC, PHILADELPHIA "161-NEW" "RUC" 1P

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI. RE ALBANY TEL AUGUST TEN.

MR [REDACTED]

ADVISED AUG. THIRTEEN HE IS A [REDACTED] AT U. OF PA. HE HAS KNOWN HENRY STEELE COMMAGER FOR THIRTY FIVE YRS. BOTH SOCIALLY AND PROFESSIONALLY. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] STATED HE HIMSELF HAS RESIDED IN PA. FOR LAST TWELVE YRS AND LAST SAW COMMAGER IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN TWO YRS. AGO. HE BELIEVE *PARENTS* COMMAGER-S FATHER DIED WHEN HE WAS A YOUNGSTER AND HIS MOTHER IS ALSO DECEASED. HIS WIFE-S NAME IS EBAN AND HE IS THE FATHER OF THREE CHILDREN, ONE SON KNOWN TO HIM AS STEELE, POSSIBLY HENRY STEELE COMMAGE JR., AND TWO DAUGHTERS, ONE NAMED LYDIA, THE OTHER UNKNOWN.

[REDACTED] CONSIDERS COMMAGER TO BE A COMPLETELY LOYAL AMERICAN. HE HAS NEVER HEARD OF ANY DEROGATORY INFO RE HIM AND HAS NEVER KNOWN OR HEARD HIM TO BE A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATION CONSIDERED SUBVERSIVE OR TO MAKE ANY STATEMENTS WHICH HE CONSIDERED SUBVERSIVE. COMMAGER IS A PERSON OF GREAT ABILITY, INTEGRITY AND CHARACTER AND RECOMMENDS HIM FOR A POSITION OF TRUST AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE US GOVT. 161-2126-52

END AND ACK

WA 10-15 AM OK FBI WA JDS

TU DISCVT

NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

ICC destroyed
9/9/62 98/100

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BOSTON	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/13/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/11/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY ██████████	TYPED BY B7C eth
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCE

Bureau teletype to Boston 8/11/62.
 Boston teletype to Bureau 8/11/62.

- RUC -

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 1 - Bureau 1 - Boston (161-856)	<p><u>161-2126-53</u> <small>NOT RECORDED</small> <small>15 AUG 14 1962</small> <small>RECEIVED</small></p>		
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY.....	REQUEST RECD.....	DATE FWD.....	HOW FWD.....
BY.....			

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:

[REDACTED] August 13, 1962

Office: BOSTON

67C

Field Office File No.: 161-856

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] Columbia University, New York, vacationing on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, recommended appointee for a position of trust and responsibility.

- RUC -

Details:

ASSOCIATES

The following investigation was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

On August 11, 1962, [REDACTED] Columbia University, New York, New York, vacationing at Gull Pond Road, Wellfleet, Massachusetts, advised he has known appointee since 1946 when both were members of the History Department and Faculty of Columbia University. In 1956 appointee transferred to Amherst College but [REDACTED] has maintained contact with appointee. He described appointee as responsible, versatile and extremely knowledgeable in the field of constitutional history and Civil War history. He recommended appointee for a position of trust and responsibility with the U. S. Government, and recommended him for character, reputation, patriotism, and associates.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 13 1962

TELETYPE

WNLG
RENT 8-13-62 10-06 PM AM JLW

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC NEW YORK 161-1067 1P

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI.

RE ALBANY TEL AUGUST TEN.

MRS. [REDACTED]

RYE, NY, ADVISED [REDACTED]

IN LONDON, ENGLAND AND WILL NOT RETURN UNTIL AUGUST TWENTYSIX NEXT.

[REDACTED] COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, WILL BE AVAILABLE
FOR INTERVIEW TEN AM AUGUST FOURTEEN. NY WILL INTERVIEW [REDACTED]

END

10-06 AM OK FBI WA BH

TU DISCM

ICC destroyed

9/19/62
98/cis

REC'D - EMT - 9/19/62

161-2126-54
NOT RECORDED
5 OCT 9 1962 EMAED R.S.J.

WPA 10 1 50 LN 25

JKB

REC'D - EMT - 9/19/62

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

F B I

Date: 8/13/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC WFO (161-1738)(P)
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPI

ReALtel dated 8/10/62.

JFB [REDACTED] Foreign Service Locator, U.S.
Department of State, advised that [REDACTED] is presently
assigned to Santiago, Chile. b7c

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO

LSM/jmo

(4)

AIRTEL

2cc destroyed
9/19/62
GK/km

161-2126-55
SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED
OCT 9 1962

JFB → —

Approved: WJW Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 8/14/62

HHD

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Transmit the following in

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

Via

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
 FROM: SAC, ALBANY (161-360) (RUC)
 RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
 SPI

Re report of SA ██████████ dated 67C
 8/11/62, at Albany.

~~reflect "12 or 13 years."~~ Page 2, lines 4 and 5 of referenced report
~~reflect "12 or 13 years."~~ This info should be changed to
 read "2 or 3 years."

CC: 3-Bureau
 1-Albany

MWK:AD
 (4)

2cc dictated
 9/19/62
 AD/CW

161-2126-5 b
 NOT RECORDED
 25 AUG 16 1962

SP-100

Approved: AB Sent: _____ M Per: _____
 Special Agent in Charge mwm

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
AUG 1 5 1962
TELETYPE *for*

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Malone
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

URGENT 8-15-62 1-00 PM PW
TO DIRECTOR, FBI /4/
FROM SAC, NEW YORK 161-1067 2P

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, SPI
RE NY TEL AUGUST THIRTEEN
ON AUGUST FOURTEEN [REDACTED]

MR.
ROOM 1246

67C

[REDACTED] COLUMBIA U, ADVISED HE HAS KNOWN COMMAGER ON A PROFESSIONAL "FIRST NAME" BASIS SINCE NINETEEN FORTY.

HE STATED HE HAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED COMMAGER TO BE A MAN OF VERY GOOD CHARACTER, REPUTATION AND MORALS AND HE HAS NEVER HAD REASON TO QUESTION HIS LOYALTY OR CHOICE OF ASSOCIATES.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THE APPOINTEE HAS ALWAYS TAKEN A STRONG POSITION ON SUCH MATTERS AS CIVIL RIGHTS AND ECONOMICS. HE STATED COMMAGER IS THE TYPE WHO IS DEVOTED TO THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND IS AN ADHERENT TO THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM. HE ADVISED THAT HE IS FAMILIAR WITH ARTICLES WRITTEN BY COMMAGER ALONG THESE LINES. [REDACTED] ADDED IF COMMAGER WERE TO BE CONSIDERED FOR A POSITION SUCH AS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO SUPPORT HIM. HOWEVER, HE DOES NOT FEEL COMMAGER IS THE TYPE WHO WOULD MAKE A GOOD REPRESENTATIVE OF THE US IN A FOREIGN LAND, INASMUCH AS HE QUESTIONS THE APPOINTEE'S WISDOM AND DISCRETION IN

END PAGE ONE

1cc destroyed
9/19/62
JB/crc

161-2126-5
NOT RECORDED
OCT 9 1962

PAGE TWO

PRESENTING HIS CASE IN SUCH MATTERS AS CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE U.S. HE FEELS THAT COMMAGER MIGHT BE INDISCREET IN HIS SPEECH AND MIGHT CAUSE EMBARRASSMENT TO THE U.S. WERE HE IN A POSITION ABROAD. [REDACTED] STATED HE WOULD RECOMMEND COMMAGER FOR A DOMESTIC POSITION INVOLVING TRUST AND RESPONSIBILITY, BUT NOT FOR A POSITION ABROAD. b7c

HE DECLINED TO FURNISH A SIGNED STATEMENT OR APPEAR BEFORE AN APPROPRIATE HEARING BOARD INASMUCH AS THE INFORMATION HE FURNISHED IS HIS PERSONAL OPINION.

REPORT FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK

1-05 NY R 4 WA G J J

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/15/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/13-14/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED] b7c	TYPED BY mmh
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPECIAL INQUIRY	

REFERENCES:

NY teletypes to Bureau, 8/13,15/62.

-RUC-

JB

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 1- Bureau 1- New York (161-1067)		<i>161-2126-58</i>
		<i>NOT RECORDED</i> <i>6 AUG 7 1962</i>
		<i>HAC 11 3 31 68, PS</i>
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS
AGENCY.....		<i>2061-7</i>
REQUEST RECD..		<i>E 8/7</i>
DATE FWD..		<i>CIA FWD 7/11 SEC 114</i>
HOW FWD..		
BY.....		

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: [REDACTED] b7c
Date: 07/15/62 Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.: 161-1067 Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis: [REDACTED] Columbia University, associate,
advised he would recommend COMMAGER for a domestic position,
but not for one in which he would represent US abroad.

-RUC-

Details:

ASSOCIATE

[REDACTED] On August 14, 1962, [REDACTED]
Columbia University was interviewed by SA [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] at his residence, [REDACTED] New York,
New York. He stated he has known HENRY STEELE COMMAGER on a
"first name" basis since 1940. [REDACTED] advised he has always
considered COMMAGER to be a man of very good character, reputation
and morals, and he has never had reason to question the appointee's
loyalty as an American citizen or his choice of associates.

NY 161-1067

b7c

[redacted] advised the appointee has always taken a strong position on such matters as civil rights and economics. He stated COMMAGER is the type of person who is devoted to the dignity of the individual and is an adherent to the capitalistic system of the United States. He advised that he is familiar with articles written by the appointee along these lines. [redacted] added if COMMAGER were to be considered for a position such as on the Civil Rights Commission he would be happy to support him. However, he does not feel that the appointee is the type of person who would make a good representative of the United States in a foreign country, inasmuch as he questions the appointee's wisdom and discretion in presenting his case in such matters as civil rights in the United States. He feels that COMMAGER might be indiscret in his speech and might cause embarrassment to the United States were he in a position abroad. [redacted] stated he would recommend COMMAGER for a domestic position involving trust and responsibility, but not for a representative position abroad.

[redacted] declined to furnish a signed statement or appear before an appropriate hearing board inasmuch as the information he furnished is his personal opinion.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE WASHINGTON FIELD	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/16/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/14 - 15/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY ██████████	TYPED BY b7c mpc
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCE

Report of SA ██████████ dated 8/6/62 at b7c
 Washington, D. C.
 WFOairtel dated 8/10/62.
 BAairtel dated 7/31/62.

- P -

LEADSWASHINGTON FIELD OFFICEAT WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Will report appointee's passport record when received.
2. Will report results of CIA check when available.

APPROVED <i>mw/jbw</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 1 - Bureau 1 - Washington Field (161-1788)	161-2126-59		
	NOT RECORDED 5 OCT 9 1962		
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
SENCEY.....	.....	.....	.....
QUEST RECD.....	.....	.....	.....
TE FWD.....	.....	.....	.....
W FWD.....	.....	.....	.....

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:

[REDACTED] b7c
8/16/62

Office: Washington, D. C.

Field Office File No.: 161-1783

Bureau File No.:

Title: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character: SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

Files of G-2 and investigative file at CSC contained no additional pertinent information re appointee. Files of Security Research Office, CSC, disclosed Photostatic copy of letter dated 3/25/42 under letterhead of American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, which letterhead lists appointee as a member of the National Committee of that organization. These files also disclose that he was the signer of a statement by the Academic Council of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties protesting the ousting of Dr. HOMER P. RAINES as president of the University of Texas. Both of these organizations have been characterized by the HCUA as subversive organizations.

- P -

DETAILS: AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

On August 14, 1962, a file on the appointee at the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (G-2) was reviewed but no additional pertinent information was noted.

On August 14, 1962, appointee's investigative file at the Bureau of Personnel Investigations, Civil Service Commission, (CSC) was reviewed but no additional pertinent information was noted.

On August 14, 1962, the files of the Security Research Office, Bureau of Personnel Investigations, CSC, were reviewed and the following information pertinent to the appointee was noted:

WFO 161-1788

A Photostatic copy of a letter dated March 25, 1942, under the letterhead of American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, 519 West 121st Street, New York, New York, listed HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Columbia University, on the letterhead as a member of the National Committee of that organization.

A Photostatic copy of a statement issued in 1945 by the Academic Council of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York, protesting the ousting of Dr. HOMER P. RAINY, contained the name of HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, professor of history at Columbia University, among the signatures.

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (and appendixes) revised and published December 1, 1961, and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following citations regarding the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

1. Cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p.13, and House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p.87.)
2. Cited as subversive and un-American.
(Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, Report, April 21, 1943, p.3)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
(See also Oklahoma Federation for Constitutional Rights; Washington Committee for Democratic Action)

1. Characterized as an organization "operating in the field of civil rights under (Communist) Party domination and headed by responsible Party functionaries." The National Federation

for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress and the "dormant" International Labor Defense merged into the Communist; "created" Civil Rights Congress. "The petitioner's witness, (BELLA) DODD, testified that the question of NCCL's merger with the CRC was referred by her to national Party officer EUGENE DENNIS who decided it should be merged."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket Number 106-53, Report and Order with respect to the Civil Rights Congress, July 26, 1957, pp. 54, 55, 4 and 5.)

2. Cited as subversive and Communist.

(Attorney General TOM CLARK, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1957, and September 21, 1948.)

3. "Part of what LENIN called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. *** (It) was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. *** The defense of Communist leaders such as SAM DARCY and ROBERT WOOD, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation!"

(Attorney General FRANCIS BIDDLE, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687.)

4. "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitution Liberties - regardless of its high-sounding name — is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Annual Reports, House Report 2277, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and House Report 2748, January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12.)

5. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law."

WFO 161-1788

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report
1115 on the Civil Rights Congress, November 17,
1947, originally released September 2, 1947, p. 3.)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Evans ✓

DATE: 8-20-62

FROM : [REDACTED] b7c

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPECIAL INQUIRY - STATE DEPARTMENT

Request received 7-24-62 by letter dated 7-23-62 from the State Department indicating Commager is being considered for a Presidential appointment, exact position not stated. Investigation complete except for interview of one Columbia University faculty member and associate and results of three agency checks.

BACKGROUND AND RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION:

Commager, aged 59, resides Amherst, Massachusetts, and professor of history and American studies, Amherst College, since 1956. Had faculty status, Columbia University, New York City, 1932 to 1962.

Commager is a prolific author and his writings have in the past been critical of the Bureau, the Government and loyalty programs and security measures. He is on the Bureau "no contact" list. (100-14160)

[REDACTED] Columbia University, NYC, describes Commager as an "academic liberal" and "liberal historian" with sympathetic interest in civil rights and racial equality matters. States Commager is militant in views on social questions and he recommends him. [REDACTED] Columbia University, does not believe Commager suited for position in Government in which he would have to rigidly conform, but well-suited for position where he would have latitude of thought and action. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] do not know him. [REDACTED] know him only favorably by reputation.

Pertinent public-source writings and newspaper articles since 1946 relating to Commager and his criticism of Government, the Bureau, security and loyalty programs are set out. HCUA files disclose his name appears as a signer of a petition to President Kennedy in 6-61 seeking pardon of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, Communist Party members, convicted of contempt of Congress. Name appears in petition in 1-61 to 87th Congress urging abolition of HCUA. Pertinent security informants contacted and Commager not known to them.

Enclosures sent 8-21-62

1 - C. D. DeLoach

JLB:bmr

(6)

SENT DIRECTOR
8-21-62

9-5-62

21

12

12

Memorandum to Mr. Evans
Re: Henry Steele Commager

ACTION:

The attached transmittal letters with enclosed summary memorandum concerning Commager be furnished to the White House and the State Department.

E/HG/VK/HC
JW

b7c

2 copies of summary sent to
WFO (1 for USIA) by Mr. [redacted] Office
8/11/62
C/S/C/C

August 20, 1962

REC'D--READING ROOM

F B

AUG 21 '62 PH C/S

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

D.C. summary

I. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Birth

Dr. Commager was born on October 25, 1902, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Education

He attended the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, from March, 1919, to June, 1924, receiving a Ph.B. degree in June, 1923, and an A.M. degree in June, 1924. During his junior year he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, honorary society.

405 S. PLEASANT ST., AMHERST,
MASSACHUSETTS

From the Fall of 1924 to the Summer of 1925, he attended the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. No degree was conferred.

Dr. Commager re-enrolled at the University of Chicago in June, 1925, and he attended through August, 1926. In June, 1928, upon the completion of the necessary requirements, a Ph.D. degree was conferred upon him by the University of Chicago. His major course of study was history.

Dr. Commager has been the recipient of several honorary degrees from various colleges and universities in the United States and England.

Employment

Dr. Commager was appointed an instructor of history at New York University, New York City, in September, 1926. In September, 1929, he was appointed an assistant professor and in September, 1930, he was appointed an associate professor, in which position he served until September, 1939.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

W.H.B.:mjs

161-2126-

W.H.B.
C.G.

b7c

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ENCL[URE] Return to [redacted] Room 1260

Henry Steele Commager

He was employed at Columbia University, New York City, from 1932 to 1962. He served as an instructor of history from November, 1934, to April, 1937; visiting professor of history from April, 1937 to April, 1939; professor of American history from April, 1939, to January, 1956; adjunct professor of American history from January, 1956, to September, 1961; and visiting professor of history from September, 1961, to January, 1962.

He has been professor of history and American studies at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, since July, 1956.

Dr. Commager has served as a lecturer or visiting professor at numerous colleges and universities throughout the United States and in foreign countries.

In connection with the Exchange Program administered by the Department of State, Dr. Commager has served as a lecturer in history and American studies at universities in England during the Summer of 1952; in Germany and Austria during the Summer of 1954; in Rome, Italy, during the Spring and Summer of 1955; in Copenhagen, Denmark, during the Spring of 1956; and in Santiago, Chile, during December, 1956.

Dr. Commager served as a consultant to the Office of War Information in London, England, from June, 1943, to May, 1945. He was employed by the Department of War, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Historical Branch, Washington, D. C., as an expert, when actually employed from June, 1943, to September, 1944, and from October, 1945, to June, 1947. Also, from May, 1945, to September, 1945, he was employed by the Department of War in Washington, D. C., and Paris, France, as an expert. In January, 1951, he served as a consultant, without compensation, to the Division of Public Liaison, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Commager has been the author of numerous books and articles. His writings have been extensive in the field of history for which he has received numerous awards. He is or has been a member of numerous civic and educational foundations and funds. He holds or has held membership in numerous professional, social and fraternal organizations.

Henry Steele Commager

Marital Status

Dr. Commager is married to the former Evan Carroll. They presently reside at 405 South Pleasant Street, Amherst, Massachusetts. They also have summer homes in Williamsville, Vermont, and Cambridge, England.

II. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Interviews

[REDACTED] Columbia University, New York City, advised he has known Dr. Commager since 1940. He said his association with Dr. Commager has been for the most part professional and he considers Dr. Commager a person of good character, morals and reputation. [REDACTED] stated he has never had reason to question Dr. Commager's loyalty as an American citizen. He described Dr. Commager as an "academic liberal" and a "liberal historian." He stated by liberal he meant an individual who has a sympathetic interest in such matters as civil rights and racial equality. He said Dr. Commager is militant in his views on social questions but his attitude is not one which might reflect upon his adherence to democratic principles. He said that Dr. Commager is the type of individual who would give consideration to another's views even though he did not sympathize with them. He recommended Dr. Commager for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government, adding that if Dr. Commager were charged with official responsibilities, he would be very discreet. b7c

[REDACTED] Columbia University, New York City, advised that he has known Dr. Commager on a professional basis since approximately 1940. He described Dr. Commager as a loyal citizen of very good character who enjoys a favorable reputation among his contemporaries.

[REDACTED] stated that Dr. Commager is "too much of an individualist to take orders from anyone and is not the type of individual who is used by people." He said Dr. Commager is not taken over easily but to use a hypothetical situation, "If the communists were to use the principle of academic freedom for their own end, Commager is the type of individual who would be fighting for the principle itself and his works and writings would tend, therefore, to be of some aid."

Henry Steele Commager

b7c

Concerning Dr. Commager's choice of associates, [redacted] advised that there is always a possibility that an individual like Dr. Commager might be unduly criticized in this respect. He stated Dr. Commager is the type of person who would select his associates on the basis of those who interest him. He said that even if a person was a communist and Dr. Commager found him interesting, he would not hesitate to associate with that individual, although he, [redacted] feels Dr. Commager would not be negatively influenced in such a case. [redacted] stated he feels Dr. Commager is a great value to the academic world and he would be of similar value to the Government. He stated, however, he does not believe Dr. Commager is suited for a position in which he would have to rigidly conform but he would be well-suited for a position in which he would have latitude of thought and action. He recommended Dr. Commager for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government.

[redacted] at New York University, New York City, advised he attended the University of Chicago with Dr. Commager in the 1920's and was closely associated with him at New York University during the late 1920's and the 1930's. He mentioned that he and Dr. Commager were assigned to the same office at New York University. He described Dr. Commager as one of the most brilliant and outstanding historians in the United States. He stated although Dr. Commager has been outspoken in his writings, he does not feel that it has ever reflected unfavorably upon Dr. Commager's adherence to the democratic principles of our Government. He said he considered Dr. Commager as a person of good character, morals and reputation, and he has never had reason to question Dr. Commager's choice of associates or his loyalty as an American citizen. He mentioned that he is also acquainted with Dr. Commager's wife, Evan, and he holds her in the same high regard. He recommended Dr. Commager for a position of trust and responsibility with the Government.

[redacted] Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, advised he has known Dr. Commager since 1948. He mentioned that Dr. Commager had been a visiting lecturer at Brandeis University on several occasions. He said Dr. Commager

Henry Steele Commager

has very original ideas and he is one of the most stimulating personalities to have lectured at that university. He said the university has been enriched by his teachings. He stated that Dr. Commager is one of the country's outstanding historians and his brilliant writings have been for the most part in regard to American civilization. He said there is no question concerning Dr. Commager's loyalty to the United States, and he highly recommended Dr. Commager for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

[REDACTED] b7C
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised he has known Dr. Commager for almost forty years. He said he considered Dr. Commager as a person of excellent character, a brilliant scholar and teacher, and an outstanding historian.

[REDACTED] said he is familiar with Dr. Commager's various writings which pertain for the most part to the history of the United States. He said he has no hesitancy whatsoever in recommending Dr. Commager for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government.

[REDACTED]
He said Dr. Commager has published many other writings. He said Dr. Commager is a person of unusual capabilities; a man of excellent personal qualities, and he is regarded as an outstanding historian. He recommended Dr. Commager highly for a position of trust and confidence.

[REDACTED]
He said Dr. Commager is one of the leading historians in the United States and has authored and co-authored many publications. [REDACTED] stated

Henry Steele Commager

that Dr. Commager is a very intelligent person, whose character, reputation and loyalty are above reproach. He recommended Dr. Commager for a position of high trust and confidence.

[REDACTED] from Massachusetts, interviewed in Washington, D. C., advised they do not know Dr. Commager and, therefore, they have no comment to make concerning him. 67C

[REDACTED] interviewed in Washington, D. C., advised that they know Dr. Commager only by reputation as a distinguished historian and could not comment further concerning him.

Twenty-six additional persons, consisting of social and professional acquaintances, were interviewed and they furnished favorable comments concerning the character, reputation, loyalty and associates of Dr. Commager. They recommended him for a position of trust with the Government.

Several additional individuals advised that while they are not personally acquainted with Dr. Commager, they are familiar with his writings and his reputation as an outstanding teacher and historian. They stated he is well qualified for appointment to a position of responsibility with the United States Government.

Close Relatives

In addition to his wife, previously mentioned, Dr. Commager has the following close relatives:

Son, Henry Steele Commager, Jr., assistant professor, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Daughter, Mrs. Christopher (Nellie) Lasch, Iowa City, Iowa.

Daughter, Mrs. Rosswell Parker (Elisabeth) Angier III, Cambridge, Massachusetts, presently traveling in Europe.

Father, James Williams Commager, deceased.

Mother, Mrs. James Williams Commager (Elisabeth Dan), deceased.

Henry Steele Commager

Credit and Arrest Checks

Information has been received from the appropriate credit reporting and law enforcement agencies indicating that their files contain either no record or no additional pertinent information concerning Dr. Commager or his close relatives.

Agency Checks

Information has been received from G-2, United States Army Counterintelligence Records Facility, Fort Holabird, Maryland, and the Office of Security, Department of State, indicating that their files contain no additional pertinent information concerning Dr. Commager.

Miscellaneous

[REDACTED], advised he was acquainted with Dr. Commager in 1945 and 1946 at which time Dr. and Mrs. Commager resided in Rye, New York. He said at that [REDACTED]

Dr. Commager was a social acquaintance of [REDACTED]. He said during this time [REDACTED] became interested in foreign and political affairs as well as current events. As a result thereof, [REDACTED] and Dr. Commager attended a meeting of the Westchester County Chapter of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (ICCASP). He stated at this meeting Dr. Commager was requested to become chairman of the Westchester County Chapter but he declined the invitation stating that he desired to participate only as an interested party. Mr. [REDACTED] stated that there is a recollection that the leaders of the club suggested that dues of three dollars per year per person be collected. He said he recalled that subsequently Dr. Commager stated that he believed the meeting had been "rigged" and that he, Dr. Commager, had been made a "sucker" at the meeting. He said Dr. Commager later stated that they had been "hooked" for one year since they had paid their money, but that he was having nothing further to do

Henry Steele Commager

with the organization. He stated that he does not know Dr. Commager well enough to comment any further concerning his character or loyalty to the United States, although nothing of an unfavorable nature came to his attention and that Dr. and Mrs. Commager enjoyed an excellent reputation in Rye, New York, at that time.

Mrs. [REDACTED] Rye, New York, advised she was closely associated with Dr. and Mrs. Commager in Rye, New York, during World War II. She stated she recalls having attended a meeting of the ICCASP [REDACTED] but she does not recall having seen Dr. Commager or his wife at the meeting. She does recall that Dr. Commager commented that he "did not think highly of the organization." He indicated it was probably communist infiltrated and he believed it was a "crummy outfit." Mrs. [REDACTED] stated she considered Dr. Commager a loyal American and a person of excellent character, morals and reputation. She recommended him without reservation for a position of trust and confidence. 67C

The ICCASP has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) as a communist front.

The July 15, 1946, issue of the "Daily Worker" contained an article attacking former United States Ambassador to Russia, William C. Bullitt, for urging the United States to drop atomic bombs on the Soviet Union, as he indicated in his book, "The Great Globe Itself." The article in the "Daily Worker" reported Dr. Commager commented concerning this book earlier in the "New York Herald Tribune" newspaper as follows:

"So gross are the distortions, so fallacious the arguments, so blatant the omissions, so immoral the proposals of this book that it can only serve to promote misunderstandings."

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

Henry Steele Commager

The September, 1947, issue of "Harper's Magazine" contained an article by Dr. Commager entitled "Who is Loyal to America?". This article criticized the official objections raised to a lecture given by a Mrs. Shura Lewis at Western High School, Washington, D. C., on May 6, 1947. In her lecture, Mrs. Lewis discussed Russia and its school system and public health program. She also compared Russian social institutions to those in America. In his article, Dr. Commager defended Mrs. Lewis against all criticism and criticized certain members of Congress, the District of Columbia educational system and others who spoke out against Mrs. Lewis. He discussed at length the "new loyalty," which he characterized as "conformative" and objected to the imposition of fixed concepts of loyalty and tests of disloyalty.

The "New York Times Magazine Section" for August 22, 1948, contained an article by Dr. Commager entitled, "Should We Outlaw the Communist Party?". In this article, Dr. Commager pointed out that the Communist Party should not be outlawed as this would violate a basic fundamental right guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

The September 22, 1948, issue of the "Daily Worker" contained an article indicating that ninety-three prominent United States leaders formed a Committee of Welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D., Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, England. According to the article, Reverend Johnson had been invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship for a country-wide tour under its auspices. A visa was refused him on the grounds that the sponsoring organization was "on the Attorney General's List." Among the members of the committee was Henry Steele Commager, Columbia University.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "New York Times Magazine Section" for June 26, 1949, contained an article by Dr. Commager entitled, "The Real Danger -- Fear of Ideas." In this article Dr. Commager indicated that the

Henry Steele Commager

fear of ideas was being fostered by the "drive on disloyalty." He ridiculed the expenditures of large sums under the Loyalty Program, and stated that the FBI had as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives had been able to work substantial harm to the nation. He pointed out that there were no definitions of disloyalty. He then stated, "Thus J. Edgar Hoover relies upon 'easy tests' to determine a Communist-front organization: 'Does the organization receive consistent favorable comments in Communist publications?' Clearly, all that is needed here is for the 'Daily Worker' to give consistent favorable mention to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion for these organizations to come under the ban." He ended this article by pointing out that the "danger confronting us (from such things as the Loyalty Program) then is graver by far than any danger that arises from the activities from the Communists or subversives in America."

The "Detroit Free Press" newspaper in its issue of March 9, 1950, carried an editorial entitled, "Aiding the Hisses." According to the editorial, an audience of secondary school heads attending the College Forum on Democracy heard two prominent speakers assert that this country's current concern over loyalty is the consequence of national jitters. The two prominent speakers were identified as Henry Steele Commager and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., law professor and former Assistant Secretary of State. The editorial stated there was no reason to suppose that either of these men were communists, but both declaimed what is obviously a recent addition to the commie line. The editorial stated that by ridiculing loyalty and security, whatever the speakers' intent might have been, they were serving Moscow most ably.

"Counterattack," a weekly publication of the American Business Consultants, Incorporated, in its newsletter, number 167, dated August 4, 1950, states that Carl Marzani was sentenced to one to three years in prison for making false statements about a membership in the Communist Party while an employee of the United States State Department. On February 16, 1950, he completed service of his minimum term. His appeal for parole was denied at that time and again in June. According to "Counterattack," a thousand Americans signed a petition to President Truman asking him to pardon Marzani. One of the signers of this petition was Henry Steele Commager, then a professor at Columbia University.

Henry Steele Commager

The "Berkshire Evening Eagle" of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in its issue of December 9, 1950, carried a story headlined "Commager Hits Smear Techniques." The article stated that Dr. Commager at a lecture a few nights previously criticized the recent reliance on "smear" techniques and political persecution as safeguards for loyalty. According to the article, Dr. Commager was critical of loyalty oaths and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The "New York Times" in its issue of October 10, 1951, quoted Dr. Commager as follows:

"Loyalty oaths are a part of a rather fat-headed, civil-minded, though not altogether depraved pattern peculiar to American life. By these oaths we put a premium on conformity. This results in a society of second-class citizens unable to voice their real opinions, although the only kind of advice a society needs is unpalatable advice."

On an undisclosed date, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee issued a pamphlet written by Dr. Commager entitled, "Guilt--and Innocence--by Association." This article initially appeared in the "New York Times Magazine Section" on November 8, 1953. A copy of this article is enclosed.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist front.

Henry Steele Commager

Dr. Commager is also quoted in the February 21, 1954, issue of the "New York Times" as follows:

"How is the United States to fulfill the obligation which history has thrust upon her? Only a committee of experts in the broad and complex field of foreign policy could work out a specific blueprint. The Eisenhower Administration has adopted, almost in toto, the foreign policies of the Truman and Roosevelt Administrations. Those who think in terms of absolutes concoct Wall Street bankers to account for the first World War, a Roosevelt conspiracy to account for Pearl Harbor, a Yalta sell-out to account for the cold war with Russia, and an Acheson-Lattimore conspiracy to account for the triumph of communism in China."

The "Daily Worker" issue of November 9, 1954, contained an article captioned, "Professor Commager Assails Witchhunts in Schools." According to the article Dr. Commager on the previous day addressed the opening session of the National Conference of the Adult Education Association held in Chicago, Illinois. According to the article Dr. Commager declared, "It is imperative to reverse the widespread attitude that most teachers and scholars have an affinity for subversion.

The "New York Times" in its issue of December 21, 1955, indicates that Henry Steele Commager was one of forty-six individuals who signed a petition to President Dwight D. Eisenhower seeking "Christmas amnesty" for sixteen communists imprisoned under the Smith Act. The article states that the signers made clear that they did not agree with the beliefs of the Communist Party.

The "New York Times" in its issue of October 4, 1956, states that a supplementary petition forwarded to President Dwight D. Eisenhower asking amnesty for the communists imprisoned under the Smith Act. It was indicated that the petition was signed by several hundred educators, clergy and others. Among the signers was Henry Steele Commager, historian.

Henry Steele Commager

The April 1, 1955, edition of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper in the Letters to the Editor column carried a long letter headlined "Freedom to Teach." This letter was signed by ten individuals, one of them being Henry Steele Commager. The article was in defense of Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, a well-known writer on Marxist economics who was called before the Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire on two occasions in 1954 under an act requiring the Attorney General of the State to investigate activities that might be subversive. Dr. Sweezy had testified he was not and had never been a communist but refused to answer several questions pleading possible self incrimination. He had been ruled in contempt.

The "New York Times" issue of November 24, 1957, contained an article by Dr. Commager captioned, "Where Government May Not Trespass." In the article Dr. Commager is quoted as stating "First there is the approval of the 'security' program which President Truman inaugurated, and which has expanded under Mr. Eisenhower. I am not concerned here with the wisdom or the ethics of the program itself, with its monstrous abuses, with its palpable inefficiency." He cites, as an example of the growth of Federal authority in the realm of ideas, the exercise of control over travel. "Time was when Americans did not need passports for travel abroad.... The use of the passport and the visa as a mark of approval or disapproval is something new in our history and it is fraught with danger. If the right to travel abroad is to depend on the subjective judgment of some subordinate in the State Department as to whose travel is 'in the interests of the United States,' there is an end - in theory at least - to freedom of travel."

The "New York Times" in its issue of February 13, 1955, contained an article captioned, "Urey Denounces Atom Spy's Trial." The article states that Dr. Harold Urey, Professor, University of Chicago, spoke on February 12, 1955, at a testimonial dinner given by the Chicago Sobell Committee, a unit of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. He charged that Sobell, who was convicted as a result of the case involving Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, "The Atom Spies," "was not properly tried and that the verdict and sentence were not justified." At the testimonial

Henry Steele Commager

dinner, a bound volume of scrolls was presented to Dr. Urey signed by five thousand persons throughout the world in tribute to him as a scientist and for his achievements as a citizen. One of the signers of these scrolls was Henry Steele Commager, Columbia, University.

The National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on the evening of January 5, 1956, she attended a seminar at Goucher College, Towson, Maryland, at which Dr. Henry Steele Commager, Professor of American History, Columbia University, New York City, was the lecturer. She stated in his lecture he attacked the entry of the United States Government into the realm of thought. He stated, according to the informant, that freedom of expression of ideas in such fields as religion, education, tax-exempt foundations, science and communications was so censured that "all our liberties were being threatened." The informant said Dr. Commager "spoke very sarcastically of all Government security and investigations."

The "Daily Worker" in its issue of January 28, 1957, contained the following:

"Dr. Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Amherst, rapped the use of 'loyalty' lists in casting actors for radio, TV and the movies in a speech before eight Jewish women's organizations in Albany, N. Y., a week or two ago.

"He berated Hollywood for requiring actors, writers and others to affirm that they have not belonged to 500 or 600 lists of the Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee and others, and for blacklisting artists who were not 'cooperative witnesses' before congressional investigating groups."

Henry Steele Commager

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History, Columbia University, New York City, and Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, spoke before the Citizen's Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, held at the Hollywood Athletic Club, Hollywood, California, on May 18, 1957. His subject was "The Leviathan State, Federal Centralization in the Realm of Ideas." According to the informant, he stated in part as follows:

"There was a marked growth of centralization apparent in the United States during recent years. The individual states are losing their function as testing grounds of legislation. It was fortunate that only in Tennessee was legislation attempted which regulated the teaching of the theory of evolution." He continued, "Even though there is a need for some centralization, the encroachment of Federal authority into the realm of ideas was of dubious merit.... The regulation of the nation's thinking has been carried on in various ways. Because of the Government's investigation of employees, a form of censorship has arisen over some means of communication. Newspapers are affected.... Questioning of political beliefs of persons engaged in television, the theatre and other creative arts has become another means whereby the Federal Government seeks to impose its beliefs upon the realm of man's thoughts.... The Post Office can also regulate the kinds of literature distributed throughout the nation which impedes the right of the public to read freely. This censorship is also found in the United States Customs Bureau which recently prohibited the entrance into the United States of text books used by Polish school children. Regardless of the merit of the text books themselves, the United States Customs is not the Bureau properly qualified to set standards and make decisions as to whether or not publications from other countries can be read in the United States." He stated "Freedom to think and read widely is one of the rights which freemen everywhere hold dear."

Henry Steele Commager

Another informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that at the above meeting, Dr. Commager contributed \$100 to the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has cited the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms as follows:

"The (Communist) party's front operations in the Southern California District today are *** confined to four major organizations," which include the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms."

The "Boston Globe" newspaper in its issue of February 11, 1958, carried a story headlined "29 College Teachers Here Decry Further Red Probe." The story stated that a group of 29 college professors called upon the Massachusetts Legislature the previous night to reject a resolve asking for the revival and continuation of the State Commission on Communism and Subversive Activities. The request to the Legislature was in the form of a statement signed by the 29 individuals, one of whom was Henry Steele Commager.

The "New York Times" in its issue of October 10, 1960, contained an advertisement paid for by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC). The advertisement was captioned, "My Conscience Will Not Allow Me To Protect Myself By Sacrificing These Idealistic Young People. I Am Not Going To Do It." The advertisement indicated this was a statement by Dr. Linus Pauling on June 21, 1960, when he rejected the demand of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the United States Senate that he disclose the names of other scientists who had helped him circulate a petition calling for cessation of nuclear bomb testing. Among those who signed in support of Dr. Pauling in his refusal to comply with the Committee's demand was Henry Commager, Professor, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Henry Steele Commager

Dr. Linus Pauling, Professor of Chemistry at the California Institute of Technology, has received considerable publicity as a leader of a campaign to ban testing of nuclear weapons. He has been identified by various sources with a number of organizations which have been cited as communist front groups. During 1959, Dr. Pauling attended a disarmament congress in Australia, which, according to the files of another Government agency, was planned by members of the Australian Communist Party.

The files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) show that the name of Henry S. Commager appeared as a signer of a petition to President John F. Kennedy on June 12, 1961, seeking the pardon of Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden. The name of Henry Steele Commager appeared as a signer on a petition on January 2, 1961, to the 87th United States Congress which urged the elimination of the HCUA as a standing committee. The name of Henry Commager appeared on a petition to President John F. Kennedy asking the pardon of Junius Scales.

The files of the HCUA contain no additional information pertinent to this investigation.

Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson appeared before the HCUA in Atlanta, Georgia, on July 30, 1958. Upon their refusal to answer questions, they were charged with contempt of Congress and were sentenced to serve one year in prison. They began their sentence on May 1, 1961. The Committee was investigating Communist Party propaganda in the South and foreign Communist Party propaganda in the United States. On February 27, 1961, the United States Supreme Court upheld the convictions of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson.

b7c



Henry Steele Commager

[REDACTED]

b7c

[REDACTED]

The United States Court of Appeals, Fourth District, Richmond, Virginia, rendered a decision October 6, 1958, upholding the conviction of Junius Scales, rendered February 21, 1958, by the United States District Court at Greensboro, North Carolina. Junius Scales was convicted for violation of the membership provisions of the Smith Act of 1950 and sentenced to six years in the Federal Penitentiary on February 21, 1958, by the United States District Court at Greensboro. On June 5, 1961, the United States Supreme Court upheld the United States Court of Appeals, Fourth District, in the above decision.

Other informants who are familiar with communist activities in appropriate areas advised that Dr. Commager is unknown to them and they have no information concerning him.

The central files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation contain no additional pertinent information concerning Dr. Commager.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

38
b7c

August 21, 1962
BY COURIER SERVICE

AUG 21 1962 PH:67
REC'D.-READING ROOM

F B I

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

In accordance with the request of Mr. Michel Cieplinski in a letter dated July 23, 1962, an investigation has been conducted concerning Dr. Henry Steele Commager. Transmitted herewith is a summary memorandum containing the results of this investigation, a copy of which is also being furnished to the White House.

46 AUG 21
BY COURIER SERVICE

COMM-EH

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Information has been received from several governmental agencies indicating that the checks of their files concerning Dr. Commager have not been completed. When these checks are completed, you will be advised.

**One individual who may be acquainted with Dr. Commager is presently unavailable. He will be interviewed, and you will be advised.

*Passport Office (State)
CIA
CSC

** [REDACTED]

Columbia University, New York City

NOTE: See memo [REDACTED] to Evans dated 8-20-62, same subject.

JLB:bmr

(6)

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

Return to [REDACTED], Room 1260

The Secretary of State

The investigation of Dr. Commager covered inquiries in the continental United States as to his character, loyalty, general standing and ability, but no inquiries were made as to the sources of his income.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

- (b)(1)
 (b)(2)
 (b)(3)

- (b)(4)
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- (b)(7)(A)
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- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

____ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

____ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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WFO 161-1788

Relatives

JAMES WILLIAMS COMMAGER, father, born about 1872 at Toledo, Ohio. Deceased.

ANNA ELISABETH DAN COMMAGER, mother, born June, 1871, at Racine, Wisconsin. Deceased.

EVAN CARROLL COMMAGER, wife,

[REDACTED] married 7/3/28. b7c

NAPI contained in file. CIA out and being followed.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b7c

August 23, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

By letter dated August 21, 1962, you were furnished a summary memorandum containing the results of an investigation conducted concerning Dr. Henry Steele Commager. Transmitted herewith is a supplemental summary memorandum, a copy of which is also being furnished to the Secretary of State.

The results of the check of the records of two governmental agencies concerning Dr. Commager have not been received. Upon receipt of these results, you will be advised.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

161-2126-63

NOT RECORDED

5 OCT 9 1962

Enclosure

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

* Passport Office (State)

CIA

REC'D 18 b7c 10/10/62

E B I

JLB: EOT
ENCLOSURE

ON

RECEIVED - SAVINS

(See note page 2)

RECEIVED - DIRECTOR

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Return to [REDACTED]

Room 1260
Room [REDACTED]

b7c

ga

gj

b7C
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. ██████████

August 21, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

By letter dated July 23, 1962, Mr. Michel Cieplinski, Acting Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, requested an investigation of Dr. Henry Steele Commager, who is being considered for a Presidential appointment. Transmitted herewith is a summary memorandum containing the results of this investigation, a copy of which is being furnished also to the Secretary of State.

b3 pu 1RS

BY COURIER SVC

4 6 AUG 21

Information has been received from several* governmental agencies indicating that the checks of their files concerning Dr. Commager have not been completed. When these checks are completed, you will be advised.

**One individual who may be acquainted with Dr. Commager is presently unavailable. He will be interviewed, and you will be advised.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

*Passport Office (State)
CIA; CSC
**Professor ██████████ Columbia University, New York City.
NOTE: See memo ██████████ Evans dated 8/20/62, same subject.

JLB:bmr:paa paa
(7)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT b7C
161-2126 - (7) CLOSURE Room..... Room 1260

Return to ██████████

NOV 17 1962
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17 B I

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

The investigation of Dr. Commager covered inquiries in the continental United States as to his character, loyalty, general standing and ability, but no inquiries were made as to the sources of his income.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

August 23, 1962

~~HENRY STEELE COMMAGER~~

Summary

This summary memorandum supplements the information set forth in the summary memorandum dated August 20, 1962.

Columbia

University, New York City, advised that he has known Dr. Commager on a "first name" basis since 1940. He said he has always considered Dr. Commager as a man of very good character, reputation and morals and he has never had reason to question his loyalty as an American citizen or his choice of associates.

[REDACTED] commented that Dr. Commager has always taken a strong position on such matters as civil rights and economics. He said Dr. Commager is the type of person who is devoted to the dignity of the individual, and he is an adherent to the capitalistic system of the United States. He said he is very familiar with articles written by Dr. Commager on these subjects.

[redacted] stated that if Dr. Commager was being considered for a position as a member on the Commission on Civil Rights, he would be happy to support him. He said he does not feel that Dr. Commager is the type of person who would make a good representative of the United States in a foreign country inasmuch as he questions Dr. Commager's wisdom and discretion in presenting his case in such matters as civil rights in the United States. He said he feels Dr. Commager might be indiscreet in his speech and might cause embarrassment to the United States were he in a sensitive position abroad. He stated he would recommend Dr. Commager for a position in the United States involving trust and responsibility with the Government, but he would not recommend him for a "representative position abroad."

Agency Checks

Tolson _____ The records of the Bureau of Personnel Investigations,
Belmont _____ Civil Service Commission, disclose that Dr. Commager was listed
Mohr _____ in March, 1942, on the letterhead of the American Committee for
Callahan _____ Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, 519 West 121st Street,
Conrad _____ Evans _____ New York, New York, as a member of the National Committee of that
DeLoach _____ Malone _____ organization.
Rosen _____

JLB:sma:11b

161-2126

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Return to

Room 1260

Henry Steele Commager

These records further disclose that in a statement issued in 1945 by the Academic Council of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York, protesting the ousting of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as president of the University of Texas, the name of Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Columbia University, is contained among the signatories in the statement.

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom is cited as a "Communist front which defended Communist teachers" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

F B I

Date: 8/29/62

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, WFO (161-1788) (RUC)
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPI

ReWFOairtel dated 8/22/62.

On 8/27/62 SA [REDACTED] was advised that the files of the CIA contain no further pertinent or derogatory information regarding the appointee.

3 - Bureau
1 - WFO
LSM:mpc
(4)

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Approved: [Signature] Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

August 23, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

By letter dated August 21, 1962, you were furnished a summary memorandum containing the results of an investigation conducted concerning Dr. Henry Steele Commager. Transmitted herewith is a supplemental summary memorandum, a copy of which is also being furnished to the White House.

The results of the check of the records of two governmental agencies* concerning Dr. Commager have not been received. Upon receipt of these results, you will be advised.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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J. Edgar Hoover

* Passport Office (State)

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**The Honorable
The Secretary of State**

NOTE: Supplemental summary includes interview with Columbia University faculty member and close associate who does not recommend Commager for a position with Government abroad, but feels he would be satisfactory for domestic position such as member of Commission on Civil Rights. Civil Service Commission records show Commager member in 1942 of National Committee of American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (cited as communist front) and in 1945 supported position of Academic Council of National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (designated pursuant to EO 10450). Results of Passport Office and CIA checks outstanding.

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. [REDACTED] b7C

September 4, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

By letters dated August 21, 1962, and August 23, 1962, you were furnished summary memoranda concerning Dr. Henry Steele Commager.

Information has now been received that the records of the Passport Office, Department of State, disclose that Dr. Commager has been issued seven passports and has had passports renewed and amended since May, 1924, for travel to European countries and Israel for business, study and pleasure purposes and in behalf of the United States Government.

Information has been received that the records of the Central Intelligence Agency contain no additional pertinent information concerning Dr. Commager.

The above information is being furnished also to the Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell at the White House, and completes the investigation in this case.

Sincerely yours
J. Edgar Hoover

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1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. [REDACTED] b7c

September 4, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

By letters dated August 21, 1962, and August 23, 1962, you were furnished summary memoranda concerning Dr. Henry Steele Commager.

Information has now been received that the records of the Passport Office, Department of State, disclose that Dr. Commager has been issued seven passports and has had passports renewed and amended since May, 1924, for travel to European countries and Israel for business, study and pleasure purposes and in behalf of the United States Government.

Information has been received that the records of the Central Intelligence Agency contain no additional pertinent information concerning Dr. Commager. b7c

The above information is being furnished also to the Secretary of State, and completes the investigation in this case.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN BUREAU	DATE 8/13/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/11/62 - 8/13/62
TITLE OF CASE HENRY STEELE COMMAGER		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY b7c smp
		CHARACTER OF CASE SPI	

REFERENCES:

New York teletype to Bureau, 8/11/62.
 San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 8/13/62.

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APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:SA [REDACTED]
August 13, 1962

Office: SAN FRANCISCO

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Field Office File No.:

161-536

Bureau File No.:

Title:

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Character:

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] b7c
Columbia University, recommends COMMAGER favorably and advised he has no information regarding other members of his family.

- RUC -

DETAILS:AT PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA:

Mr. [REDACTED] Columbia University and presently a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, 202 Junipero Serra Boulevard on August 13, 1962 advised that he has been acquainted with COMMAGER since approximately 1944 or 1945 when he commenced doing graduate studies under COMMAGER's direction for a PHD Degree which he received in 1951.

He stated that since 1951 they have been colleagues on the staff of the Columbia University and that he is well acquainted with COMMAGER. He advised that he would recommend COMMAGER for whatever position he is being considered as he knows him to be an outstanding authority on the American History, whose character, loyalty and associates are above reproach. Mr. [REDACTED] advised that he was never acquainted with COMMAGER's parents and does not know whether he has any brothers or sisters.

A RELUCTANCE TO REFLECT

Mr. Eisenhower sheds scant light on the decisions of his era

By Henry Steele Commager

MANDATE FOR CHANGE, 1953-1956: The White House Years, Volume I. By Dwight D. Eisenhower.
Illustrated. Doubleday. 650 pp. \$6.95.

The Founding Fathers invented the office of President—there had been nothing quite like it before, and it was a long time before there was anything quite like it elsewhere in the world. Even the Founding Fathers were not quite sure what it was they wanted to invent; by a happy circumstance of history they modeled the office pretty much to the man who was to be its first incumbent. "The executive power," so the Constitution says, "shall be vested in a President." But what the executive power is, and how the President is to exercise it, was left in the womb of time. Historically the executive power has been, quite simply, the power successfully exercised by Presidents. It is for this reason that the record is of such momentous importance—the record of what Presidents actually did and the record, too, of the influences and considerations that went into the decision-making.

Happily, that record is unusually full. A number of our Presidents have left detailed accounts of their Presidency—diaries by John and John Quincy Adams, an autobiography from Van Buren, a detailed Presidential diary from James K. Polk, memoirs by Hoover and Truman, voluminous correspondence of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt—and now these substantial volumes from President Eisenhower. We cannot, therefore, complain of paucity of material. But we can, perhaps, complain about the persistent failure of Presidents to speculate, to reflect, to interpret, their experience with the great office.

Ordinarily the task imposed on Presidents in the 20th century leaves little room for maneuver. This seems to be increasingly true with every passing decade—and every Presidency. Certainly Eisenhower had little room for maneuver. He was elected to play an historical role and to fulfill an historical function; he did play that role and fulfill that function. What was it and how did he perform it?

Walter Lippmann, it will be remembered, supported Eisenhower in 1952 on the ground that his election was the only way to prevent the Republican party from being captured by the extremists, and thus to save the two-party system and, for that matter, the dignity and honor of the nation. In retrospect this attitude is a persuasive one. The election of Eisenhower did save us from extremism, did preserve the two-party system, and did guarantee that the United States would continue to fulfill her obligations in world affairs. What is more, the Eisenhower victory—repeated in 1956 (and had it not been for the "vindictive" Twenty-second Amendment it would doubtless have been repeated in 1960 as well)—kept the Republican party from being driven to frenzy by the persistent triumph of the Democrats.

Long persuaded that it was the only party fit to govern, and that God and destiny intended that it should in fact govern America, the Republican party was no more able to understand why the American people thrust it aside than the Federalist party had been after 1800. The triumph of Democracy—not just the Democracy of FDR, but of Truman as well—could be explained only by conspiracy or by the palpable fact that the Republicans persisted in a policy of what the conservatives called Me-tooism, that they failed to offer the American people a real alternative to the New Deal and the welfare state. The election of Truman in 1948 immensely strengthened the extremist elements of the party. This was the situation in 1952 when moderates succeeded in grooming Eisenhower for the Presidency and forcing his nomination over Taft. The moderate strategy was successful—but it is by no means clear that it was permanently successful, for the divisions within the party appeared to be both grave and permanent. **ENCLOSURE**

We look then with special eagerness for Eisenhower's analysis of and appreciation of his historic role. This is implicit rather than

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explicit in "The White House Years." Yet even in these judicious and, it must be confessed, somewhat monotonous pages, we can feel something of the drama of resolution of this issue. The extreme Right was by no means prepared to accept defeat, and during the first Eisenhower administration, certainly, gave the President far more trouble than did the extreme Left or, for that matter, the Democratic opposition. The Republican extremists tolerated McCarthyism, though they were ashamed of it. They supported MacArthur in defiance of the constitutional commander-in-chief. They were apparently prepared to risk war over Korea if that was necessary. They endorsed the Bricker Amendment designed to deprive the President of effective control over the conduct of foreign affairs and to return the United States to the condition of the Confederation in this arena. Eisenhower was, and is, aware of this, but he seems to accept it with characteristic amiability.

The first volume of "Mandate for Change" is a curiously one-dimensional book. President Eisenhower gives us the facts as he sees them; he tells us what he did and, occasionally, what he thought. But he rarely goes back to reflect on his judgments or his decisions. He rarely gives us the benefit of experience, the benefit of time and judgment.

He welcomed and embraced Nixon after the special fund crisis, called him "my boy," and said his speech was an example of courage without parallel in his experience; does he still think so?

He accepted the verdict of the Gray Committee on Robert Oppenheimer and denied him security clearance, even though he believed him a loyal citizen; does he still think that was a wise move, one which benefited the country?

He endorsed Dulles' "liberation" program, saying in a speech in Boston that the conscience of the nation could never rest easy while the satellite countries were under Communist domination. The Hungarian uprising was a tragic commentary on the false hopes aroused by liberation policy; does Mr. Eisenhower still think that was a wise policy?

Against his better judgment he went into the Wisconsin primaries and even omitted his tribute to General Marshall; is he satisfied that those sacrifices were really necessary, and that a bolder course would not have helped clear the air of McCarthyism at that time?

He accepted (and presumably still accepts) without question Attorney General Brownell's conclusion that Harry Dexter White was a traitor, and quotes without protest or qualification that politically-minded Attorney General's astonishing statement that those who appointed White to office—that is, Harry Truman—knew that he was a traitor. He says nothing of the effort to subpoena ex-President Truman, a gesture which he presumably endorsed at the time. Does he still think that Brownell was right, and that it is proper to test the loyalty of ex-Presidents by subpoena?

He was convinced that unbalanced budgets were dangerous to the safety and welfare of the nation; in 1959 his own budget was out of balance by over 12 billion. Is he still persuaded that an unbalanced budget spells ruin?

We look in vain for answers to these questions, or even for recognition that the questions are there and that they are of importance. Eisenhower has never shown vanity or arrogance, yet apparently it never occurs to him to question his own judgment. The past is prologue, but for Eisenhower it is merely history, and without consequences.

In another respect, too, these memoirs are disappointing. Nothing is more interesting than the processes by which Presidents arrive at major decisions, but President Eisenhower does not illuminate these. He rarely gives us the background, the pressures, the reasonings which explain the major decisions. He gives us facts, but not perspectives of the facts; he gives us conclusions, but not how or why he arrives at the conclusions. Full now of dignity and of honor, his place in history secure, President Eisenhower has a matchless opportunity to reflect on the meaning of his experience, to counsel future executives. Alas, he does not do this.

We are familiar enough with President Eisenhower's political philosophy; it is summed up for us in the comforting phrase "the middle of the road." President Eisenhower, indeed, assures us that this is the traditional American political philosophy and he tells us somewhat astonishingly that the Founding Fathers took "the middle of the road." This would have surprised Sam Adams and John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Tom Paine, and even more the British. Americans of that generation, and Europeans as well, thought that the New World was striking out on new roads, and we know now that they were right.

"The middle of the road," the avoidance of major issues and of personalities, was all very well when Rutherford B. Hayes undertook to heal the wounds of strife by a policy of sectional peace, or when William Howard Taft saved the Republic by vetoing the admission of Arizona to statehood. Not too much was at stake here, nor can we say that the price paid for peace was too high. Can the same be said for the efforts of President Hoover and Eisenhower to slow down the processes of history—that the price the country paid for marking time was not too high? Is it all right to go down the middle of the road if you don't know what road it is or where the road is taking you—or even which direction you are going?

President Eisenhower maintains a curious detachment about all this; one feels, somehow, that he never really gave it his careful thought. So many of his con-



At the Taft headquarters following 1

clusions, even on matters of fundamental importance to our political and social system, seem instinctive rather than studied.

Centralization of power, so Eisenhower asserts, leads inevitably to ruin, but we have been on the road to centralization of power for the last three-quarters of a century, certainly since the I. C. C. Act. And the chief agent of centralization in the last quarter century (that is, in the whole period of Eisenhower's public life) has been the demands of the military—military security, war, and the cold war—precisely that enterprise to which the President himself was so long attached and whose significance he commented upon so judiciously in his final Presidential message. This is not a partisan issue. It is not even a political issue. It is part of the stream of history. No one is at fault here; history, the kind of world in which we live, the responsibilities which we have assumed, are at fault. Would Eisenhower change this—and how? But how are we to fight wars, how are we to maintain security, without a far greater degree of centralization than in the past? Eisenhower himself, for example, went so far as to ask the FBI to investigate every potential judicial appointee. Could anything be more centralizing?

And is President Eisenhower really prepared to say that this centralization in the political and military realm has led to ruin? Are we in fact in ruins? If not, is there not an obligation in a great public figure to whom we all look for counsel and for guidance to refrain from sensational prophecies? Might we not say with Jefferson or with Macbeth, "Shake not thy gory locks at me?"

Eisenhower was implacably opposed to centralization but equally critical of that great experiment that more than any other offered something of an alternative to centralization—the TVA—which provided a laboratory for the fragmentation of central authority. Logically Eisenhower should have welcomed it as an alternative to centralization, but he failed to appreciate its significance, clear as it was and is.

Equally illuminating and no less disconcerting are the principles which President Eisenhower here establishes for appointments to the Supreme Court. He gives us four criteria: first, every appointee shall be thoroughly investigated and approved by the FBI; second, no one with "extreme legal or philosophical views" shall be appointed; third, each appointee shall have the approval of the American Bar Association; fourth, appointees shall be drawn from the state or Federal judiciary.

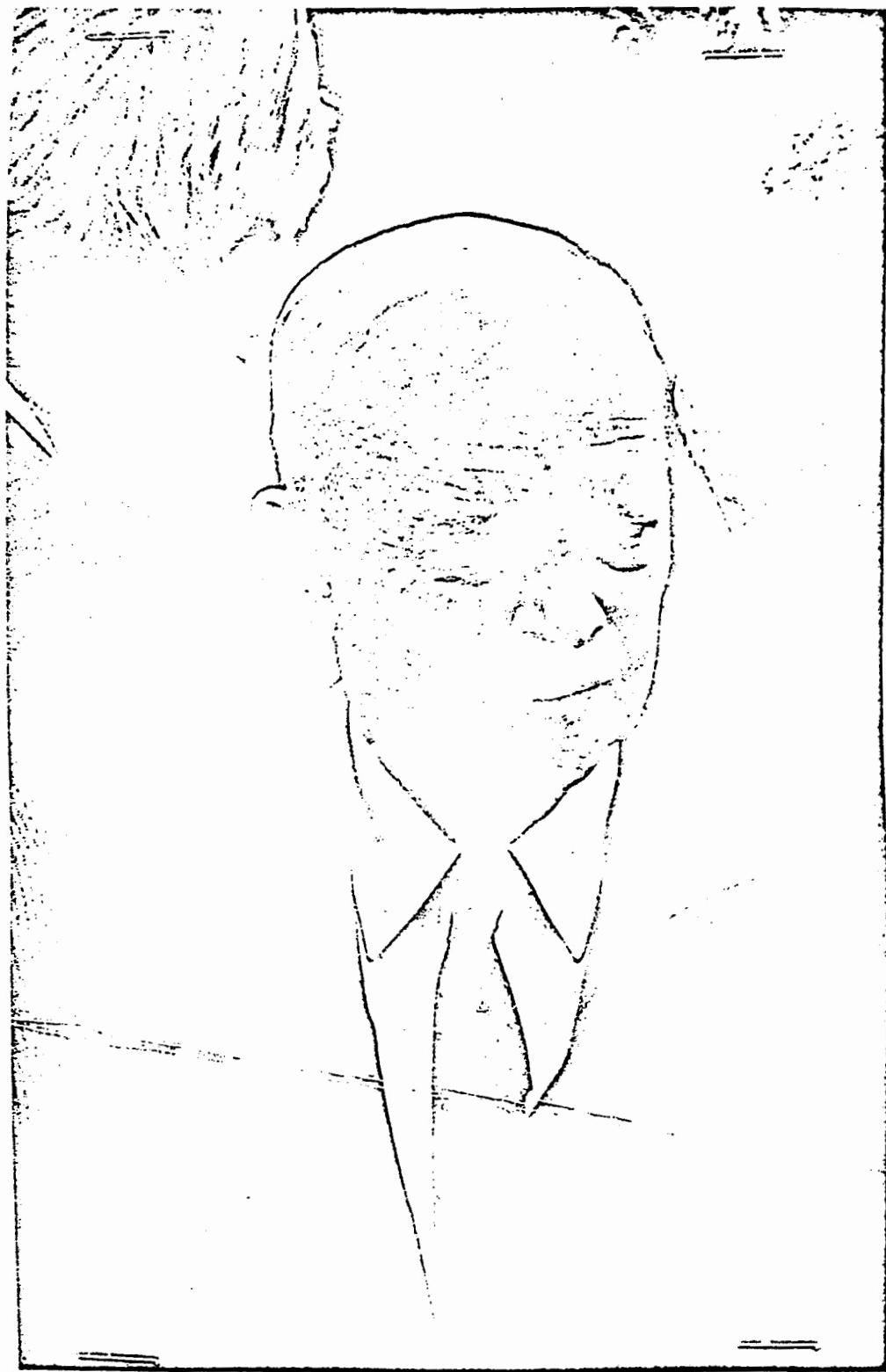
Now collectively these criteria constitute not only an abandonment of good sense, but a drastic departure from American constitutional practice and a radical abdication of the Presidential prerogative. Does not the President see that it is his responsibility to judge character, not that of the FBI? Does he forget so quickly that he and Secretary Dulles had to override the misguided advice of the FBI on the appointment of Ambassador Bohlen? As for extreme philosophical views, would not that principle have excluded Holmes,

Brandeis and Frankfurter, all of whose views seemed extreme at the time to the conservative elements of the American bar? Even more astonishing is the proposal to abdicate to a private organization veto power to the highest bench. As soon grant to the American Bankers Association a veto on the Secretary of the Treasury or to the American Legion a veto on the Secretary of State. And what shall we say of the suggestion that all appointees should have judicial experience, except that this criterion would have denied us the services of John Jay, John Marshall, and Joseph Story, of Chief Justice Hughes, Chief Justice Stone, and *mirabile dictu*, Chief Justice Warren?

What indeed, shall we say, but that President Eisenhower's actions were better than his theories, his instincts sounder than his maxims?

In perspective, it was in the crucially important area of foreign affairs that the choice of Eisenhower was vindicated, that the Eisenhower policy of reasonableness and compromise was a blessing. For however much he may have been the instrument of the conservative wing of the party on such matters as conservation, hydroelectric power, taxation and the budget, he clearly allied himself with the liberal internationalist wing on matters concerning America's responsibilities to the rest of the world, America's role as a world power. His appointment of John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State; his energetic support of NATO and of the United Nations; his vigorous advocacy of a comprehensive foreign aid program which had taken shape under Truman; his imaginative adoption of the atoms for peace program; his reasonableness in his relationships with the Communist world; his refusal to be stampeded by the situation in Vietnam, Berlin and elsewhere—all these meant that foreign policy was largely eliminated as a partisan issue, that the Republican Party escaped the fateful error of embracing isolationism as it had under Harding and his successors.

There were minor failings here, to be sure, but history will accord Eisenhower a major part of the credit for the generosity and maturity with which the United States accepted and discharged her obligations during the Fifties; it will accord him credit for preventing the Republican Party—and perhaps the country—from going down the dusty road to a sterile isolationism at a crucial moment in history.



Passport Barrier: 'It Must Come Down'

The State Department still insists on deciding which countries Americans may visit,

despite repeated Supreme Court rulings upholding the right to freedom of travel.

By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

In his speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations on Sept. 20, President Kennedy said that "new efforts are needed if the Assembly's Declaration of Human Rights is to have full meaning. And new means should be found for promoting the free expression and trade of ideas—through travel and communication, and through increased exchange of people and books and broadcasts. For as the world renounces the competition of weapons, competition in ideas must flourish—and that competition must be as full and as fair as possible."

It was not a new sentiment, nor a new appeal. Back in 1952, President Truman had asserted that "we shall never be able to remove suspicion and fear as potential causes of war until communication is permitted to flow ... across international barriers." And four years later, at Geneva, President Eisenhower called on all the nations of the world "to lower the barriers

which now impede the opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world...so that all will have a chance to know each other face to face."

Notwithstanding these eloquent appeals, our own State Department has adopted a policy designed to frustrate the principle of freedom of travel and communication, and instead has erected barriers between our people and the people of nations of whose governments it disapproves. What an ironic commentary on the plea for free communication that three Presidents have been unable to communicate their ideas on freedom of travel across the barrier that separates the White House from the State Department; indeed, President John Kennedy seems unable to communicate his ideas even to Attorney General Robert Kennedy!

In the fifties, we were not supposed to communicate with Russia, and then not with China. Now the walls are down for Russia, but they have gone up around Cuba instead. A few months ago, the State Department officially

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announced that "travel in Cuba does not meet the established criteria.... Passports of the United States citizens may be validated for travel in Cuba only when their travel may be regarded as being in the best interests of the United States."

Clearly, the travel of college students—just the group, one would think, who might be trusted to see for themselves—is not "in the best interests of the United States." The youngsters who listened to the President rather than to the Passport Office and defied this edict are now exposed to something like double jeopardy—with withdrawal of their passports and examination by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

We need not, perhaps, waste any sympathy on these three-score young people. After all, they got to Cuba and—thanks to the blundering of the Un-American Activities Committee—they were able to achieve both publicity and martyrdom. But, moral and constitutional principles should be reasserted whenever they are challenged, and not just when we happen to approve of the

character or activities of those concerned. To argue that these students are not sympathetic characters is like arguing that Tom Paine was not a gentleman or that "Tropic of Cancer" is not a good book anyway.

WHAT is important is the right to travel. What is important is the claim of the State Department to decide who may and who may not travel. What is important is the State Department assertion that travel is an instrument of foreign policy and that it alone should decide what is "in the best interests of the United States." These are matters that far transcend the rights or wrongs of a handful of youngsters disporting themselves on the international stage.

The passport problem is by now depressingly familiar. Time was when a passport was merely a card of identification, needed only for admission to a few foreign countries, not for re-entry into the United States. Time was, too, when the right of Americans to travel and to return

to their own country was unquestioned. But beginning in the forties, and feeding on the crises, real and alleged, of the fifties, the State Department took the position that travel was not a right to be exercised at the discretion of the citizens, but a privilege to be exercised at the discretion of the State Department.

The department's behavior has been a curious hybrid of tragedy and farce. Again and again it has denied passports to American citizens; again and again, it has backed down when the Supreme Court ruled that its conduct was lawless, until in the end the mere threat of legal action has been enough to send it scurrying for cover. Yet even when forced by the Court to acknowledge that travel was a "natural and constitutional right," the department has persisted in using its power to withhold or reclaim passports and to declare which countries on the globe were "out of bounds" for American visitors. With a stubbornness and arrogance characteristic of the bureaucratic mind, it still insists on the right to decide what is best for the United States.

WE can dispose briefly of the constitutional issue.

Repeatedly, the highest Court has asserted that travel is one of the "liberties" protected by the Fifth Amendment and that, like other liberties, it cannot be denied or impaired by due process of law. That means the right to travel is not subject to the caprice of some official in the Passport Office. The State Department can no more meddle with that right than it can meddle with the right of free speech or of a free press or of freedom of association. A mere administrative ruling that "it is not in the best interests of the United States" cannot silence freedom of speech or of the press. No official in Washington can decide what speech or what associa-

tions are in the best interests of the nation.

This does not, of course, leave the United States naked and defenseless. If the State Department has evidence that the travel of some person is in fact dangerous, it can produce that evidence in open court. It can bring it out from the subterranean files of the House Un-American Activities Committee and other equally dubious agencies, and expose it to the light of day. Government by injunction is a thing of the past.

CONSIDER the implications of the position asserted by the State Department.

First, it arrogates to itself authority to decide what are the best interests of the United States.

Who has authorized the State Department to make this momentous decision? What criteria does it use? What tests does it apply? How does it validate its judgments?

If State can make such a decision within its jurisdiction (which is wide), why should not all other departments make comparable decisions in their jurisdictions? Does the Department of Defense have the authority to decide, by administrative fiat, what is in the best interests of national defense? Suppose it decided that the sale of cigarettes to servicemen was not in the best interests of national defense—would that edict be binding? Does the Treasury Department have the authority to decide that spending money abroad is not in the best interests of the United States and could it forbid such spending by administrative edict?

Why should not the Department of the Interior decide on the disposition of public lands, and the Department of Agriculture on farm policy, by equally direct methods? Or is there some hierarchy of authority in Government which

permits State to exercise powers not given to lesser departments?

Second, it arrogates to itself the power to decide what kind of conduct advances and what kind impairs the "best interests of the United States." If the State Department really does know what conduct is in our best interests, should it not inform the American people so that we can all conduct ourselves properly? May we look forward to rules of conduct which we are all to observe—and even to sanctions behind those rules?

Alas, we do not even know what interests our travel is supposed to promote. This would be discouraging if it

were not for conclusive evidence that the Departments of State and of Defense—and others, too—have been at loggerheads about the interests they are supposed to be promoting in Vietnam, for example, or in France.

THIRD, ambitious officials of the State Department should not overlook the fact that their claim to the right to deny passports is an argument that cuts both ways. If those whose travel is not in the "best interests" of the nation are denied passports, it follows with inescapable logic that those who do receive passports (and almost everyone does) will in fact be traveling in the interests of the United States. If travel is an "instrument of foreign policy"—as Secretary Dulles fatuously observed—then all those who travel are themselves instruments of that policy.

And yet, heretofore, we had

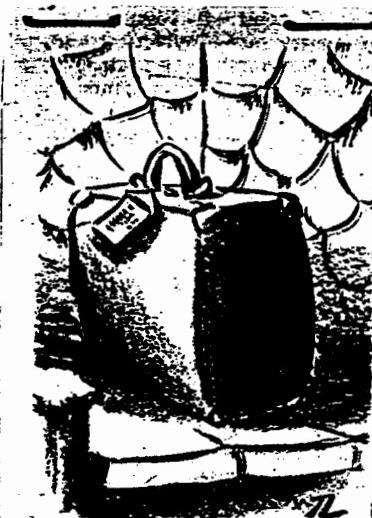
thought that the State Department was an instrument of the American people. Now it appears that the people are an instrument of the State Department. Is the State Department really ready to take on this responsibility—the responsibility of placing its stamp of approval on all who travel, of informing the world that they have been cleared as "instruments" of American policy, and that their conduct, however it may astonish the natives of France, Italy or Spain, is nevertheless "in the best interests of the United States"?

BUT the department does not rest its case entirely on one argument. There is an

other almost a plaintive one with which it solicits our sympathy. Some travel—to Cuba, for example—might "embarrass the conduct of foreign policy." And, of course, nothing should be permitted to do that.

Here, if anywhere, the State Department might be expected to take its stand on the firm ground of fact. However esoteric the phrase "best interests of the United States," there can surely be no argument about what is embarrassing. Surely the department can submit conclusive evidence that some of that travel which it has attempted to prevent—has in fact embarrassed something?

For the past 15 years, the department has attempted to deny passports to many Americans on the ground that their travel might be embarrassing—only to be forced by the courts in the end to hand over the passports after all. The accused persons—let us



call them Clark Foreman, Paul Robeson, Dr. Kamen, Arthur Miller, Leonard Boudin, Otto Nathan, Linus Pauling—all duly traveled abroad. Did their conduct injure the United States? Did it embarrass the conduct of foreign relations? Does the evidence bear out the department's suspicions and charges? Did these men—in the immortal words of Roderic O'Connor, late of the State Department—"capriciously disturb the delicate international situation by breaking restrictions which have been imposed for strong foreign-policy reasons?"

If so, surely the department is prepared to prove its case. But so far no single instance of embarrassment or disturbance has been submitted to us. So far the department has not been able to say, "We told you so," in a single case. It comes to us therefore with a record of error in this matter that cannot but excite our admiration—100 per cent!

But there is more to this than the issue of fact. There is the issue of principle as well. The assumption behind this specious argument of "embarrassment" is that if the conduct of citizens abroad did "embarrass" the conduct of foreign relations, the Government would be justified in stopping it. And yet in our system of government, citizens do a great many things that embarrass both foreign and domestic policy. Indeed, one might say that the very essence of freedom is the right

not protect him in these countries, nor can we permit him to waive protection. For his own good, therefore, he must stay home.

It is gratifying that the State Department should be so solicitous, but it is a bit alarming. If it is to function as guardian, protector and nurse to all travelers, it is going to have its hands full. Will it seal off Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal to protect young men from the glittering attractions of totalitarianism? Will it seal off Russia and Yugoslavia as it has sealed off China and Cuba to protect them against the seductions of Communism? And how far does its responsibility go? There are many ways of misleading the unwary and seducing the young.

Is it really in our best interests that young people should be exposed to the welfare state in Sweden or to socialized medicine in Denmark? And why stop with foreign travel? Should we not seal off literature and films and broadcasts from these dangerous countries as well, on the ground that they may mislead the innocent and the

of the citizen to embarrass his government — by speech, by writing, by petition, by assembly and by travel, too—as long as he does nothing unlawful. Totalitarian governments avoid this embarrassment easily, but the habit of embarrassing government by the exercise of constitutional rights is something that democracies must learn to live with.

BESIDES, if government can interfere with travel that might "embarrass" the conduct of foreign policy, why should it not interfere with domestic activities that cause even greater embarrassment? Does Dean Acheson's criticism of Britain embarrass the conduct of foreign policy, or Walter Lippmann's observations on de Gaulle or on the Berlin crisis, or, for that matter, Governor Rockefeller's criticism of our Cuba policy? If so, may not the State Department or the Congress silence these men or discipline them on the ground that their speech and their conduct are not in the best interests of the United States? And if not, why not?

But the benign officials of the Passport Office have one further argument with which to bemuse us. It is really the traveler they are worried about. If he goes to Cuba—or to China—he may be brainwashed. He may be exposed to all sorts of dangerous influences. He may come back with the wrong ideas. He may even get into trouble. We can

unsuspecting? That is the way totalitarian countries act. Are we prepared to emulate them?

There is, of course, always a danger that visitors to foreign countries may get into trouble — just as there is always a danger that people who stay home may get into trouble. Doubtless the young people who went to Cuba were exposed to that danger, but it is, perhaps, sufficient commentary on this argument that their troubles only began after they returned to their own country—from the State Department and from Congress and from the unruliness of refugee groups who are trying to dictate our foreign policy.

To blame these troubles on the youngsters who went to Cuba is like blaming race riots on Negro children who want to go to school. The easiest way to avoid them is to deprive the State Department of its authority to declare foreign countries out of bounds and to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

BUT let us turn away from considerations of law and principle and consider the wisdom of current policy. Even if it were conceded that the State Department has authority to withhold passports (which it has not), it by no means follows that it should do so. A good many things that are legal are unwise, and interfering with travel is one of them.

Is it wise to put walls around foreign countries?

Is it wise to forget Burke's admonition that we can never indict a whole people?

Is it wise to prevent Americans from finding out for themselves what things are like in foreign countries?

Is it wise to cut ourselves off from whatever information is available to us, or to rely exclusively on official sources? (Official information about Cuba led us grievously astray some two years back. Are we going to rely on it exclusively in the future?)

Is it wise to proclaim to the world that we are afraid of the impact that Cuba—or

China—might have on American visitors; that we do not really trust our own citizens to resist the wiles of rival systems; that we do not really have confidence in the advantages of our own system?

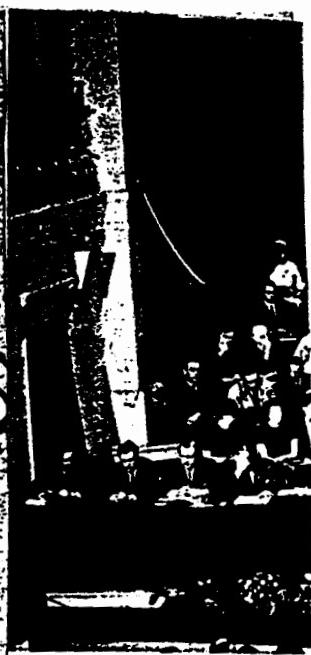
Is it wise to assert that American citizens are in any circumstances (except on Government service in time of war) instruments of foreign policy?

Is it wise to adopt a policy that runs counter to that specific guarantee of the Declaration of Human Rights that "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country"?

IT is these assumptions and these policies—not the willful gestures of a handful of young people in visiting Cuba—that are really contrary "to the best interests of the United States."

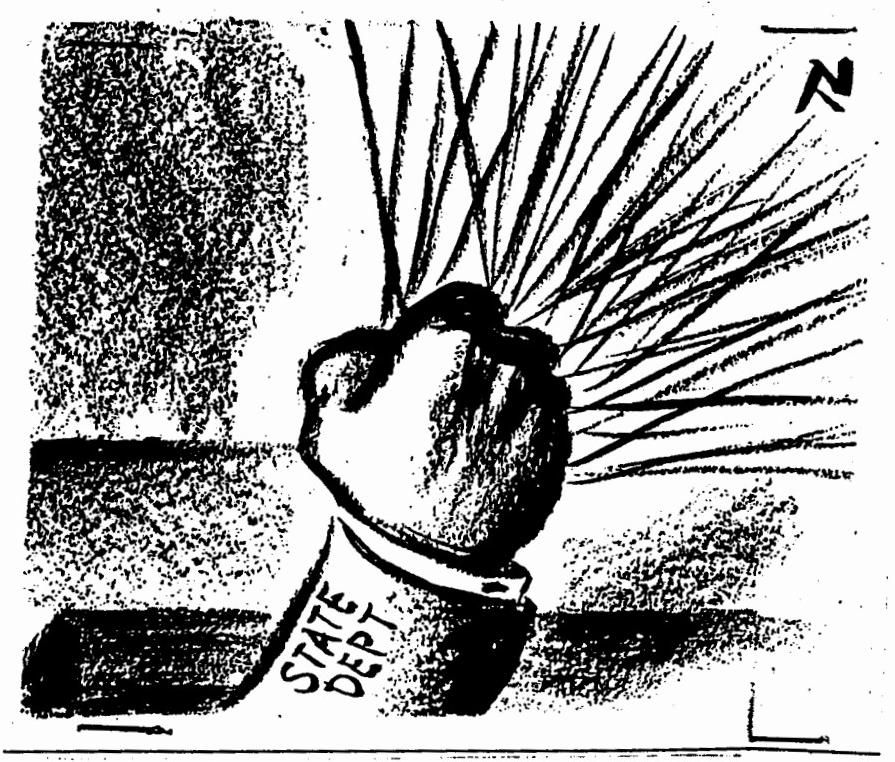
No one can spell out in detail what those interests are, or what policies serve them best. But do we not all agree that the interests of the United States are best served by freedom in all its forms and all its manifestations; that the interests of the United States are best served by confidence in the intelligence and the integrity of our people, and of other peoples; that the interests of the United States are best served by striking down barriers, not putting them up—the hateful physical barriers of walls, the odious legal barriers of arbitrary regulations, the pernicious intellectual and moral barriers which make for fear and distrust among men?

'NOT IN THE BEST INTEREST
OF THE UNITED STATES'
—THE STATE



PARTY POWWOWS—Both of B in recent weeks. The Labor Party

THE
RIGHT TO
TRAVEL



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11-15-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

REVIEW OF FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER'S
BOOK, "MANDATE FOR CHANGE"

9
Olson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____

3-1

b7c

BACKGROUND:

The November 10, 1963, issue of "The Washington Post" in its book review section contains a review by Henry Steele Commager of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower's current book, "Mandate for Change." References to the FBI in the book review are as follows: In commenting on presidential appointments, Commager relates that Eisenhower asked the FBI to investigate every potential judicial appointee. Commager comments "Could anything be more centralizing?" In commenting upon Eisenhower's appointments to the Supreme Court, he asserts in his first of four criteria, "First, every appointee shall be thoroughly investigated and approved by the FBI." Commager comments that Eisenhower's criteria constitutes an abandonment of good sense. "Does not the President see that it is his responsibility to judge character, not that of the FBI? Does he forget so quickly that he and Secretary Dulles had to override the misguided advice of the FBI on the appointment of Ambassador Bohlen?" These are rhetorical questions offered by Commager.

"MANDATE FOR CHANGE" BY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:

A copy of former President Eisenhower's book has been obtained by the Bureau Library and the following references to the Director and the FBI were noted.

On Page 90 in discussing the formation of his cabinet, Eisenhower states that the man he picked for a particular post would have to pass with flying colors an exhaustive examination by the FBI as to his past record, reputation and standing in his community. At this point Eisenhower digressed that he heard rumors to the effect that the Director had been out of favor in Washington. "Such was my respect for him that I invited him to a meeting, my only purpose being to assure him that I wanted him in Government as long as I might be there and that in the performance of his duties he would have the complete support of my office."

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ENCLOSURE
On Page 213 ~~NOT RECORDED~~ continues his discussion of his nomination of Charles E. Bohlen as an ~~AMBASSADOR~~ ¹⁹⁶³ Moscow. He referred to the controversy in the Senate over the naming of this individual and Eisenhower stated, "The suggestion that Bohlen was unacceptable to the ~~FBI~~ led to Senators' demands to see the security file."

1 - ~~NOV 20 1963~~ 1 - Mr. DeLoach

JMM:bsp

(6)

1 - Mr. Sullivan

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

62-46835

M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach memo
RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

He then outlined how he had ordered the Attorney General to allow two Senators to see the FBI summary.

On Page 226 Eisenhower discusses his decisions with respect to appointments to the Supreme Court and how he directed Attorney General Brownell to use the FBI in making a thorough investigation of a prospective appointee's reputation and of every pertinent detail of his life.

In his chapter on "Problems of Internal Security," on Page 309 Eisenhower makes a passing reference to the FBI which conducted full field investigation on those individuals who worked in sensitive jobs or where the Civil Service Commission developed disloyal data on the individual involved.

On Page 314 and 315 references are made to the FBI in connection with the investigation of Harry Dexter White. He referred to a speech by the Attorney General on November 6, 1953, whereby White was characterized as a Russian spy and these statements were based on information from the FBI. He also referred to the fact that the Director supported the Attorney General by testifying that at no time did the FBI approve the previous administration's promotion of White for the avowed purpose of making it easier to keep him under FBI surveillance.

On Page 331 in discussing Senator McCarthy's Senate censure and McCarthy's investigations he stated that the benefits flowing from them "do not loom large." Eisenhower states he was told by members of the Executive Departments, including the FBI, that those discovered by the subcommittee (McCarthy's) to be disloyal or unreliable were few in number.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER:

Commager was the subject of a special inquiry investigation by the FBI in August, 1962, the results of which were furnished to the Secretary of State and the White House in August and September, 1962. Commager is a prolific writer and many of his writings have been critical of the Government, its loyalty program, and security measures. He has been a long-time hostile critic of the FBI. Commager is on the Bureau's Not to Contact List as a result of his previous critical statements. The derogatory subversive information on him reflects that he was a member in 1942 of the National Committee of American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (cited as communist front) and in 1945 supported position of Academic Council of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (cited by the Attorney General).

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

V.K.N. JCH [Signature] [Signature]

D

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

July 31, 1964

MAILED

- SUMNPL
AUG 5 1964

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Born: October 25, 1902

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

NAME CHECK

In July, 1962, an applicant-type investigation of Commager was conducted and the results of this investigation were furnished to the White House in August, 1962. For detailed results of this investigation please contact the Honorable Walter W. Jenkins, Special Assistant to the President.

(161-2126)

Original & 1-OSI-4
Request Received-7-20-64

KJJ:bss
(4)

NOTE: Commager's name connected with some organizations which are found on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

REC-60 [REDACTED] 161-2126-7D
NOT RECORDED
19 AUG 6 1964

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This is in answer to your request for a check of FBI files.

60 AUG 11 1964

SEARCH NUMBER & REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Connally, Henry Steele

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 277 Date 7-21 Searcher Initial 706Prod. ✓ JUN 20 1968

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

<u>✓ I</u>	<u>62-60527-21457</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>62-88217-2887</u>	<u>5-21</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>62-105913-A</u>	<u>Wash Post + 20th</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>94-58153-2</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-439769-757</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>161-2126-25</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>Henry Steele</u>	<u>(var)</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-14160-28</u>	<u>sum</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>Henry S</u>	<u>6-13-58</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-14160-2</u>	<u>sum</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-32059-7</u>	<u>9-23-47</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>Henry Still</u>	<u>No Paper</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>Henry Steelman (var)</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>161-2126-25</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>Connally His smen</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>Techniques</u>	
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-14160-18</u>	<u>Clipping</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>one.</u>	<u>(Ata)</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-62545-203</u>	<u>EPT 68,69</u>
<u>✓ I</u>	<u>100-312059-7</u>	

4-22b Rev. (11-17-59)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Conmogee, Henry Steele

R# 277 Date 7-21 Searcher Number 706

Prod: SL JUL 24 1964

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Atb	161-2126	Loc	7-30-62
I	161-2126		
✓I	100-14160		
✓I	100-14160-3-	sum	6-29-49
X	I21	sum	4-30-52
X	100-401767-7ep#19	sum	3-18-59
✓I	161-2126-61	8-21-62	P
	I64	sum	8-23-62

Add ses ab'rel not listed

4D REL 3; 68-13825

10 August 1964

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
DOB: 25 October 1902
SPECIAL REQUEST

Honorable Walter W. Jenkins
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

1. This District has been requested by Commandant, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, to obtain the results of the previous investigation conducted by FBI concerning the above individual who has been nominated to attend a special course at the Air War College.
2. The FBI has advised that in July 1962 it completed an applicant-type investigation concerning HENRY STEELE COMMAGER and that results were furnished the White House in August 1962 and has, therefore, referred us to your office for the results.
3. Your cooperation in authorizing the FBI to release their investigation to this District Office would be appreciated.

Sincerely

b7c [REDACTED]
Colonel, USAF
District Commander

161-2126-71
NOT RECORDED

8 SEP 3 1964

70 SEP 8 1964

b7c

MAILED

MAY 4 1966

NAME CHECK

May 4, 1966

HENRY S. COMMAGER
Born: October 25, 1902
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

An applicant-type investigation was conducted in July, 1962, concerning Henry S. Commager and the results of this investigation were furnished to the White House.

For detailed results of this investigation, you are referred to the office of the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, attention Mrs. [REDACTED] b7c

(161-2126)

**Original and 1 - USIA
Request received - 4/13/66**

JBL:clo

(4)

NOTE: Commager's name connected with some organizations which are found on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

REC-18

161-2126-72

1 MAY 5 1966

HTS
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

51 MAY 13 1966



UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1966

TO : The Honorable
Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House 20501

ATTN : Mrs. [REDACTED] b7c

FROM : Paul J. McNichol
Assistant Director (Security)

SUBJECT: COMMAGER, Henry S.
IOS - 800-17736

Mr. Henry S. Commager, dob: October 25, 1902 at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is being considered by this Agency for utilization as a Writer/Lecturer in a Forum series on American History.

It has been learned that the FBI conducted an applicant-type investigation of Mr. Commager in July 1962 and forwarded these results to the White House. It is now requested that you furnish this Office with a copy of the 1962 reports of investigation for our use in the processing of Mr. Commager.

Your attention to this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Received 5/11/66

2 copies each, summary 8/23/62,
summary 8/20/62 and enclosure

To [REDACTED] 5/11/66

b7c

5/11/66

161-2126-73
NOT RECORDED

14 MAY 13 1966

J. G. P.
MAY 13 1966
34

161-2126

MAY 18 1966

4-22a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Commager, Henry S.

Supervisor _____ Room _____
R# 349 Date 4/25 Searcher Initial 315
Prod. 8

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Henry Steele (var)
100-14160-3
100-14160-21
100-401767-7 ep. 19 3-18-59
161-2126-61
161-2126-64
161-2126-70
100-444608-437 ~~AC copy~~
64-25441-221-278 p. 5
100-443474-4 - p. 3
100-433447-572

Henry (Henry Steel (var))
SI

SI
[REDACTED] (sp)

b7C 161-2126-24 (sp)
[REDACTED] (sp)
SI APP 20 1966
[REDACTED] (sp)
161-2126-25 (sp)

4-22b Rev. (11-17-59)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Commager, Henry S.

R# 349 Date 4/25 Searcher Number 315
Prod. 16

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

161-2126-88 2/21/64
100-14160 I
100-14160-2
100-433447-575 ep. 4-1
Henry Steele (var)
100-14160-28
61-7558-17 Historian, 5-25-65
161-2126 APR 20 1966
62-60527-21454 7-15

4422a (Rev. 11-17-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Commager, Henry S.

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 24P Date 4/25 Searcher Initial 315

Prod. _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

██████████ (sp) b7c

WT 161-2126-14
William Steele (Rel.)

WT 161-2126-24
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WT 161-2126-25
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A K 19's, Variations
& ONE card wtd.

fia

MAILED

NOV 14 1966

NAME CHECK

November 10, 1966

HENRY S. COMMAGER
Born: October 25, 1902
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

An applicant-type investigation was conducted in July, 1962 concerning Henry S. Commager and the results of this investigation were furnished to the White House.

For detailed results of this investigation, you are referred to the office of the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, attention Mrs. [REDACTED] b7c

(161-2126-72)

Original and 1 - State
Request received - November 4, 1966

JBL:eip

1
of (4)

at H.S.
NOTE: Commager's name connected with some organizations which are found on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

REC-4 161-2126-74

NOV 15 1966

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

NOV 18 1966 2ab

161-2126-75

February 28, 1967

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

An applicant-type investigation was conducted in July, 1962, concerning Henry Steele Commager and the results of this investigation were furnished to the White House.

For detailed results of the investigation, you are referred to the office of the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, attention Mrs. [REDACTED] b7c (161-2126)

Original and 1 - US Dept. of Agriculture

CFB:clo
(12)

NOTE: See memo [REDACTED] to DeLoach 2/28/67, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., IS-C, Participation in US Department of Agriculture Graduate School Seminar," CFB:clo.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Date Room	_____
FBI Lab	_____
Re: Grand	_____

61 MARS 1967

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: February 28, 1967

FROM : A. Rosen

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
PARTICIPATION IN U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
AGRICULTURE GRADUATE SCHOOL SEMINAR

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. Wick
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Reference is made to the memorandum [REDACTED] to W. C. Sullivan 2/23/67 setting forth a name check request regarding lecturers at a seminar conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture Graduate School. Referenced memo recommended that the paper "Communism and the Negro Movement A Current Analysis" containing information concerning King be provided the Department of Agriculture security officer since King is listed as one of the lecturers.

As for the other six individuals listed, the following are the results of a review of Bureau files.

No record could be located for this individual.

Enclosures (12)

CFB:clo
(10) *chn*

(Continued)

ever)

(ver) NOT RECORDED
170 MAR 2 1967

Memo to Mr. DeLoach
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Internal Security - C
Participation in U. S. Department of
Agriculture Graduate School Seminar

b7c

Henry Steele Commager

An applicant-type investigation was conducted concerning Commager in 1962 for the benefit of the White House. This revealed that he has been extremely liberal in his speeches and writings, often criticizing the United States Government, its loyalty program and security measures. He has been hostile to the Bureau. Commager has been frequently quoted in communist publications.

RECOMMENDATION:

Attached are two copies each of six memoranda setting forth the results of the review of Bureau files and it is recommended that these memoranda be provided Mr. [REDACTED] Department of Agriculture, along with the paper "Communism and the Negro Movement - A Current Analysis." In the

(Continued - Over)

Memo to Mr. DeLoach
Re: Martin Luther King, Jr.
Internal Security - C
Participation in U. S. Department of
Agriculture Graduate School Seminar

case of Henry Steele Commager and [REDACTED] where the investigation was conducted at the specific request of the White House, the memoranda refer the Department of Agriculture to the White House for investigation results. This is in accordance with White House request that results not be disseminated but requesting agency be referred to White House for information.

MEMORANDA DATED 3/1/67. PAPER, "COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT-A CURRENT SURVEY"
TO [REDACTED] AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT-A CURRENT SURVEY
DELIVERED TO MR [REDACTED]
EX-ASS'T TO [REDACTED] 3/1/67
[REDACTED] 3/1/67 BOR

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Photo

CC TO:	1150A
REQ. REC'D.	2-21
FEB 25 1975	
ANS.	
BY:	WRT DC

July 10, 1967

BY LIAISON

b7c

Mrs. [REDACTED]
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. [REDACTED]

Reference is made to your name check request concerning Henry Steele Commager and three other individuals.

The central files of the FBI reveal no pertinent derogatory information identifiable with Mrs. [REDACTED] who is also known as Mrs. [REDACTED]

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with Mrs. [REDACTED] based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

Attached are memoranda concerning Henry Steele Commager, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

Delivered to [REDACTED]
on [REDACTED]

REC 26

✓ JUL 11 1967

Enclosures (11)

ENCLOSURE

161-2126-76
NOT RECORDED

176 JUL 12 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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ty _____

NOTE: Mrs. [REDACTED] requested the name checks on these individuals who allegedly are endeavoring to raise money for the re-election during the coming election year of a number of "Dove" U. S. Senators, viz:

51 JUL 20 1967

JCT.YOC (GALIN) 63-35000
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

10 13 28 33 34

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-5-28754

July 10, 1967

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Summary

Dr. Henry Steele Commager, who was born on October 25, 1902, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was the subject of an applicant-type investigation conducted by the FBI in 1962. The results of that investigation were furnished the White House by communications dated August 20, 1962, and August 23, 1962, copies of which are attached. Mr. Commager has been described as a "prolific writer," whose many writings have been critical of the government, the government's loyalty program and various security measures. (161-2126)

In December, 1964, information was received indicating that Professor Henry Steele Commager was one of a number of signers to a petition urging the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). (100-433447-575) ✓

In January, 1965, it was reported that Dr. Henry Steele Commager was one of the sponsors of an organization entitled 'Defense of 3 Against HUAC.' This organization was allegedly formed to raise funds and publicize the contempt trials of [REDACTED] These three individuals had been indicted, tried and convicted for contempt of Congress in that they refused to testify before hearings of the HCUA on December 7, 1964. (100-443474) b7C

In May, 1967, information was received that Dr. Commager was one of a number of professors who participated in a 'War Teach-In' at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which was alleged to have as its purpose the obtaining of a "moderate course of opposition to the war in Vietnam." (105-13835)

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with Dr. Commager based upon background information submitted in connection with this name check request.

NOTE: Per request of Mrs. [REDACTED] White House Staff. b7C

Enclosures (3)

JCF:roc (8)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

~~4-22-60~~
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

, 19.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Name Searching Unit - Room 6527 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Service Unit - Room 6524 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Forward to File Review |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Attention [REDACTED] |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Return to [REDACTED] b7c |

12

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Type of References Requested:

- Regular Request (Analytical Search)
 All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
 Subversive References Only
 Nonsubversive References Only
 Main References Only

Type of Search Requested:

- Restricted to Locality of _____
 Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
 Buildup Variations
JULY 1967

Subject: Commander, Navy, etc.

Birthdate & Place

Birthplace

Localities

By 100% Date 7/6 Searcher 332
Initials

12

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
✓ I 100-14160	
✓ I 161-2126	
✓ I 100-14160 - 3 sum 6/29/69	
✓ I 21 sum 4/30/62	
✓ I 100-401767-7C4/9 sum 3/18/65	
✓ I 161-2126-61 sum 8/21/62	
✓ I 64 sum 8/23/63; 705cm 7/31/64	
✓ I 64-35441-221-273 P5	
✓ I 94-5-62934	
✓ I 100-443474-4P3	
✓ I 100-444608-437	
✓ I 100-138315-6157	
✓ I Henry steel (var)	
✓ I 161-2126-23	
✓ I Henry steel (var)	
✓ I 100-14160-28 sum 6/18/69	
✓ I 61-7558-A No Paper DCC	
	JUL 5 1967-125115

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Commager, Henry Steele

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 608 Date 7/5 Searcher 332
Initial

Prod. _____

<u>FILE NUMBER</u>	<u>SERIAL</u>
✓ I Henry	
I 100-14160-	2sum 9/23
I 161-2126-	72sum 5/41
I 100-433447-	57534
(season addl rels. not listed)	

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REQUEST FOR BIOGRAPHIC DATA

37 9 1998

DATE

TO:

The Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FULL NAME (Married woman include maiden name)

ALIASES, NICKNAMES

DATE, AND PLACE OF BIRTH

10/25/02

Pittsburgh, Pa.

HOME ADDRESS

ADDRESS
405 S. Pleasant Street
Amherst, Mass.

SEY

CITIZENSHIP

MAPIT

SPOUSE'S NAME

OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION

NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRESENT EMPLOYER

AMHERST COLLEGE
AMHERST, MASS.

PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS AND FORMER ADDRESSES (Approximately last ten years)

Last SY check - 11/10/66

FOR USE OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE ONLY

OFFICE	CU/AS	TYPE OF DEPARTMENT PROGRAM
DATE	10/4/68	
NAME OF SUBMITTING OFFICER	b7c [REDACTED] Program Officer	U. S. Specialist, PL 87-256

FOR USE OF OTHER OFFICE(S) OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ENRM 26 200

ENCLOSURE

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Commager, Henry Steele

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 446 Date 10-15 Searcher Initial 116Prod. 14d

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

I 100-401767-7 ^{sum}
 I 125-526122-1464 ^{sum}
 I 100-448348-32 ^{sum}
 I 62-11181-100 ^{sum}
 I 105-138315-9391,6B7 ^{sum}
 I 105-138315-32-13 ^{sum}
 I 64-25441221-278 ^{sum}
94-5-62934 ^{sum}
 I 100-443474-4 ^{sum}
 I 100-444608-437 ^{sum}
 Henry ^{sum}
 62-909160-5509 ^{sum}
 Henry ^{sum}
 I 161-2126-72 ^{sum}
 I 100-14160-2 ^{sum}
 Henry ^{sum}
 I 100-14160-2 ^{sum}
 Henry ^{sum}
 I 100-14160-2 ^{sum}
 I 61-7573-2 ^{sum}
 Historian ^{sum}
 Henry ^{sum}
 Health & Safety (910) ^{sum}
 Skin 100-449367-292 ^{sum}

OCT 18 1968. R13

SEARCH SLIP ^{18 I 1968} 67CSubj: Commager, HenryR# 446 Date 10-15 Searcher Number 116Prod: 9d

OCT 16 1968

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

I 161-2126-58 ^{sum}
 I 161-2126-7 ^{sum}
 I 100-14160 ^{sum}
 I 161-2126-61 ^{sum}
 I 161-2126-70 ^{sum}
 I 161-2126-76 ^{sum}
 I 161-2126-64 ^{sum}
 I 100-14160-3 ^{sum}
 I 100-14160-2 ^{sum}

R13

MAILED

OCT 24 1968

NAME CHECK

October 23, 1968

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Born: October 25, 1902
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Reference is made to an FBI memorandum dated November 10, 1966, concerning Henry S. Commager, in which your agency was referred to the White House in connection with an investigation conducted in 1962. (161-2126-74)

In May, 1967, information was received that Dr. Henry Steele Commager was one of a number of professors who participated in a "War Teach-In" at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, which was alleged to have as its purpose the obtaining of a "moderate course of opposition to the War in Vietnam." (161-2126-76)

The "Middletown Press," a Middletown, Connecticut, daily newspaper, for May 20, 1968, contained an article entitled "Students Given Praise for Anti Draft Stands." This article concerned a "Vietnam commencement ceremony" held on the campus of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, on May 19, 1968. The program for this ceremony contained the names of 185 students who pledged to refuse induction into the Armed Forces and 136 names pledging "to support these young men with encouragement, counsel and financial aid." Among the speakers in this program was Henry Steele Commager, Amherst College Professor of History.

(105-138315-32-13)

ENCLOSURE In April, 1968, Mr. John McDonough, Assistant Deputy Attorney General, United States Department of Justice, made available to the FBI an eight-page printed document entitled "Dissent, Resistance, and the War in Vietnam" which had been presented to him in his office on April 19, 1968, by four individuals. One of the individuals presenting this document was Dr. Henry Steele Commager. This document concerned the five individuals arraigned in Federal Court in Boston, Massachusetts, for their participation in overt resistance to the draft. The document stated in part "The

Original & 1 - Department of State

Request Received - 10-9-68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

BVG:jlh

(4)

E-105

REC-34

161-2126-77

OCT 25 1968

54 OCT 30 1968

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Henry Steele Commager

War in Vietnam has passed all tolerable bounds of policy. Whatever our individual views on the duties citizens owe their country, we place ourselves morally beside the defendants in the Boston indictment... As citizens, we demand honest action by our Government to end the war now." Commager was one of the four principal signers of this document.

(25-520132-1464)